

ORIGINS OF A CONSUMER CULTURE
IN AN EARLY MODERN CONTEXT: OTTOMAN BURSA

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by
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Ankara
June 2006

To my mother and my father

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IN AN EARLY MODERN CONTEXT: OTTOMAN BURSA**

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

By

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June 2006

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ABSTRACT

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Studies on the origins of the modern consumer culture generally focus on the early modern western context with the inherent assumption that today's modern consumer culture had its origins in the early modern west. This study examines origins of an early modern consumer culture in a non-western context; Ottoman Empire between the mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries and investigates how particularities of the context shaped a different consumer culture. Specifically the study focuses the town of Bursa. In the Ottoman context, social structure provided differences from the previously theorized western contexts concerning consumer culture phenomena. Ottoman context had a different dominant class and relatively high level of upward mobility among the ranks. Ottoman dominant class allowed the entry of lowest echelons and had intergenerational downward mobility. Multiple data sources including archival data were used to conduct this historical research. Quantitative and qualitative data analysis techniques were complemented. Findings show that indeed an early modern consumer culture in a non-western context existed. In addition, the characteristics of the Ottoman social structure shaped a different Ottoman consumer culture both in terms of appropriation of different categories of goods and the processes of fashion and diffusion of goods.

Key words: Consumer culture, fashion, social structure, multiple modernities, Ottoman Period, leisure activities, luxury, Bursa, clothing, home furnishing, coffeehouse, bath.

ÖZET

ERKEN MODERN ORTAMDA BİR TÜKETİM KÜLTÜRÜNÜN ORTAYA ÇIKIŞI: OSMANLI BURSASI

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Modern tüketim kültürünün ortaya çıkışı üzerine yapılan çalışmalar, genellikle modern tüketim kültürünün batı menşeli olduğu varsayımından yola çıkarak, erken modern batılı toplumları incelemişlerdir. Bu çalışmada, erken modern bir tüketim kültürünün ortaya çıkışı, batılı olmayan bir ortamda, yani onaltıncı yüzyıl ortalarıyla onyedinci yüzyıl ortaları arasındaki Osmanlı bağlamında incelenmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, Osmanlı ortamının kendine özgü özelliklerinin nasıl farklı bir tüketim kültürünün varlığına yol açtığı da çalışılmıştır. Bu araştırmanın odağı dönemin Bursa şehri seçilmiştir. Osmanlı toplum yapısı, daha önce çalışılan örneklerden farklıdır. İngiltere, Fransa, ve ABD örneklerine göre, Osmanlı toplumu değişik hakim sınıf özellikleri ve göreceli olarak daha yüksek seviyede bir yukarı sosyal hareketlilik göstermektedir. Osmanlı hakim sınıfı, en alt sınıfların dahi hakim sınıfa girişine izin tanıdığı gibi, hakim sınıf üyelerinin nesiller arası bir aşağı hareketliliğine de izin vermektedir. Bu çalışmada arşiv kaynakları da dahil olmak üzere farklı veri kaynakları kullanılmıştır. Kantitatif ve kalitatif veri analiz yöntemleri, bir birlerini tamamlayacak şekilde uygulanmıştır. Araştırmanın bulguları, erken modern bir tüketim kültürünün, batılı olmayan bir ortamda da bulunabildiğini göstermiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, Osmanlı sosyal yapısının kendine has özellikleri, değişik meta kategorilerinin kabul görmesi ile farklı moda ve meta yayılım süreçlerinin oluşmasını sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tüketim kültürü, moda, sosyal yapı, çoğul moderniteler, Osmanlı dönemi, boş vakit tüketimi, lüks tüketim, Bursa, giyim, ev eşyası, kahvehane, hamam.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Studies on the origins of current consumer culture generally focus on the early modern western context with the argument that the modern consumer culture had its origins in the west (Berry, 1994; Brewer and Porter, 1993, McKendrick et al, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000; Schama, 1987; Shammass, 1990; Veblen, [1899] 1994; Weatherill, 1988). An implicit assumption appears to be the development and spread of this western-originated consumer culture throughout the globe in contemporary times. However, recent literature on consumption studies suggests that today multiple modern consumer cultures have been forming throughout the globe (Belk, Ger and Askegaard, 2003; Ger and Belk, 1999; Howes, 1996; Miller, 1995; Venkatesh, 1995; Zhou and Belk, 2004). To be able to understand multiple modernities and multiple modern consumer cultures, their specific early modern histories have to be studied because each culture produces its own institutional formations and cultural foundations (Wittrock, 1998). In this dissertation, I explore if an early modern consumer culture in a non-western context existed and develop a

theoretical understanding according to the particularities of the context. I examined early modern Ottoman consumer culture and investigated how Ottoman social structure shaped a different consumer culture.

The character of social structure is dependent on factors such as the nature of dominant class (its composition and penetrability), the type of mobility (group / individual and upward / downward), and the level of intensity and generality of mobility that define the rigidity of social structure (Sorokin, 1959). Ottoman social structure is different than the ones studied in terms of high level of penetrability of dominant class, which allowed not only upward but downward mobility as well, presence of intense and general individual mobility, and occurrence of group mobility, which did not create a rival class against the dominant class, such as the newly rich in the European counterparts (Andrews and Kalpaklı, 2005; İnalçık, 1969; İnalçık, 1997; Kunt, 1983; Goffman, 2004). First, unlike European societies, there was not landowning nobility that defines a dominant class according to family lineage. Bureaucrats, military people, and the professors of theological schools constituted the dominant class. The members of the dominant class was formed such that, either state gathered children from peasantry and educated them to assign high level positions or young peasantry moved to small towns to get higher education in order to find jobs in the state. Moreover, the status and wealth attained by these people could not pass to the next generation and there was intergenerational downward mobility from dominant class. Therefore dominant class was penetrable because it is open to intense and general upward and downward individual mobility. Moreover, another type of individual upward mobility was among the peasant population who moved to cities to find jobs in the *wakf* institutions. Lastly, the dominant class showed group mobility by entering into trade activities and increased

their wealth. The boundaries between merchants and the elite blurred (Andrews and Kalpaklı, 2005). These show that Ottoman social structure was less rigid than the European ones.

Although, both the field of consumption studies and the studies regarding the origins of consumer culture discuss the relation between social structure and consumption (Bourdieu, 1989; Douglas and Isherwood, 1996; Holt, 1998; Levy, 1981; McKendrick, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000; Simmel, [1904] 1957; Schama, 1987; Veblen, [1889] 1994; Weber, 1978), they either focus on similar social structures or do not provide an explanation concerning the characteristics of social structure in relation to consumption. Bourdieu (1989), Simmel ([1904] 1957), Mukerji (1983), Roche, 2000, and Veblen ([1899] 1994) study social structures, which dominant classes are relatively impenetrable and composed of either nobility or members who possess high level inherited cultural capital (which is not possible to established when there is downward intergenerational mobility as in the Ottoman case). Simmel ([1904] 1957), Mukerji (1983), and Veblen ([1899] 1994) examine contexts of upward group mobility, where a powerful newly rich class formed and competed against the dominant class. Levy (1978) and Holt (1998) analyze American society, where dominant class is penetrable and there is intense and general individual upward mobility. However, they do not consider the impact of nature of social class to consumption.

In this study, I investigate two groups of research questions. The first group is concerned with determining whether an early modern consumer culture in a non-western context actually existed. The second group of research questions relates to the particularities of the Ottoman context, which distinguishes that context from the West and provides me with the opportunity to generate a theoretical contribution.

Throughout the study, I place my emphasis on the characteristics of Ottoman social structure as a particularity of the context.

Early modern Ottoman society is enlightening to study in this regard, because it was different from the Western context in terms of both the governing ethics and the social structure. Islamic ethics (the way experienced in the Ottoman context) shaped the Ottoman consumer, enjoined appropriate ways of consumption, and guided the state and market actors such as the guilds and the *wakfs* (religious foundations established by the military class, local merchants, other capital owners, and provincial elites as a kind of philanthropic activity). The penetrable Ottoman dominant class and presence of group and individual upward mobility within Ottoman society influenced the spread of consumer goods throughout the society, formation of class taste, fashion process, and luxury consumption. Within the Ottoman context, I utilized the city of Bursa as the focus of the study because it was an urban center with high mobility, the last entrepot on the Silk Road, a principal center of textile production, and had always been a cultural center. In an urban context like this, with a dynamic demographic, economic, social, and cultural structure, the possibility of observing a consumer culture is high.

The method of this study is unique in the sense that it utilizes both quantitative and qualitative methods in historical research conducted in the field of marketing. I triangulated both the data sources and the analysis techniques. My primary data sources can be grouped into three categories: governmental records, literary sources, and visual sources and artifacts. The governmental data sources were probate inventories (*tereke defterleri*), price books issued by the Ottoman state (*narh*), formal opinions of religious authority (*fetva*), the codes issued by the Ottoman state (*ih̄tisab kanunnamesi*), and decrees issued by the Ottoman Sultan.

Literary sources included poetry (court and folk), travelers' accounts, chronicles, books on morality, good-manner books, and *surname* literature. The visual sources were pictures and miniatures. In addition, I employed some artifacts dating back to the period to visualize objects.

I transcribed three hundred sixty-four probate inventories which were recorded in Bursa judicial courts and categorized the goods listed. In the study I focused on clothing, home furnishing, coffeehouse, and bath consumption because these categories reflect the existence of indicators of consumer culture (mentioned in the first part of research questions). Non-parametric statistical analysis techniques – chi-square and Mann Whitney U Tests – were conducted to compare the possessions of the *askeri* (ruling) and *beledi* (ruled) classes between two periods (the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries). Analysis of probate data records provided the framework of this research. I then used my findings from the other data sources to complement the findings from the probate data, and compared what the two had to say about consumption in early modern Ottoman society. I also conducted content and discourse analysis of the literary data and visual analysis of the visual data.

My findings indicate that an early modern Ottoman consumer culture existed during the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. Clothing items, home furnishing items, coffeehouse utensils, and bath objects were analyzed. Moreover, coffeehouses and baths were studied as sites for leisure consumption. In the case of certain items I observed the indicators of a consumer culture: spread of such items throughout the population, increase in interest in the acquisition of goods, spread of luxury consumption and commercialization of fashion items, as well as of coffeehouses and public baths. This study contributes to the field of consumption studies as a challenge to the convergence theory, which assumes that only one

modern consumer culture is experienced throughout the globe, and that it originated in the west.

Moreover, in the course of the analysis, my focus is on the particularities of the context. The impact of ethics and institutional structure on consumer culture showed that a modernization tendency was present in the Ottoman context during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. My findings show that there was a disparity between ethical principles and actual consumption practices. Also, traditional codes regarding standards of production and quality were negotiated between the state and the guilds, which led to the production of populuxe and fashion goods. At the heart of these changes, was a transformation from the traditional order which had been kept stable by means of these ethical principles and codes.

The results of the study demonstrated that the characteristic of social structure shaped both the consumption processes and the categories of goods appropriated. The movement of fashion goods throughout the population could be described in terms of three “trickling” process: trickle-down, trickle-across, and trickle-up. Current theories on the relation of social structure and consumer culture explain only upward mobility in which the trickle-down process is operative. The penetrable dominant class and intense and general group and individual upward mobility among the various ranks was the underlying factor behind the presence of all three types of the trickling process. Thus, Simmel’s ([1904] 1957) theory of fashion which considers only the trickle-down process, establishes a dialectic relation between novelty and imitation. Girard’s (1987) concept of mimetic desire, which offers a more comprehensive explanation applicable to all three processes, is thus more useful in this context than the notion of imitation. The conception of mimetic desire

does not limit the imitation process to the class competition but allows the rival to be anyone.

Results confirmed that each context appropriate different categories of goods. For example, in the early modern Ottoman and European contexts clothing and household goods were appropriated respectively. The composition of dominant class defined the goods appropriated. European dominant class was formed of nobility which display their family lineages and status by household goods. However, Ottoman dominant class composed of people that were entered into the class according to their individual capabilities. Thus, clothing items appropriated to display status which was attained individually.

This study has certain limitations as well. First of all, the peasantry was not included in the study. Secondly, Bursa was one of the few cities in the Ottoman context that provided a clearly appropriate environment for consumer culture to flourish. Therefore, in order to establish the extent to which the conclusions drawn here were generally applicable, other cities in the Ottoman context should be studied.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Studies on the development of consumer culture argue that late twentieth century witnessed a modern consumer culture, which had its origins in the early modern west (Berry, 1994; Brewer and Porter, 1993, McKendrick et al, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000; Schama, 1987; Shamma, 1990; Veblen, [1899] 1994; Weatherill, 1988). These studies explore the emergence and the development of modern consumer culture by analyzing the demographic, economic, social, political, and cultural transformations in early modern European context and delineate the defining characteristics of consumer culture. However, the tacit assumption in these studies is that today there is only one consumer culture, which had its origins in the early modern west. Throughout this thesis questioning this assumption constitutes one of my motivations. I explore if an early modern consumer culture existed in a nonwestern context and focus on its specificities.

In this part of the study, I review the theoretical bases of modern consumer culture. An emphasis is given to the relation between the social structure and consumer culture. Lastly, following the theoretical underpinnings of the development of modern consumer culture, I provide the motivation behind my research.

2.1 Origins and Defining Characteristics of Modern Consumer Culture

Modern consumer culture is defined in various ways, specifying various characteristics of it by different scholars (Campbell, 1987; Fine and Leopold, 1993; Gabriel and Lang, 1999; Girard, 1987; Gottdiener, 2000; Gronow; 1987; Lury, 1996; McKendrick, 1982; Miller, 1987; Mukerji, 1983; Rassulli and Hollander, 1986; Schama, 1987; Shamma, 1990; Slater, 1997; Veblen, [1899] 1994; Weatherill, 1988). First is the proliferation of consumption throughout the society. People are interested in consumption in their ordinary lives and they consume above the level of subsistence (Gabriel and Lang, 1999; Lury, 1996; Rassuli and Hollander, 1986). This was an important change during the early modern period because consumption was no more bounded by the wealthy elite but lower echelons started to consume as well (Campbell, 1987; Girard, 1987; Gronow; 1987; Lury, 1996; McKendrick, 1982; Miller, 1987; Mukerji, 1983; Rassulli and Hollander, 1986; Schama, 1987; Shamma, 1990; Simmel, [1904] 1957; Veblen, [1899] 1994; Weatherill, 1988).

Studies on the development of consumer culture explained the increase in demand by two ways. One approach argues that this increase was a consequence of the industrial revolution in the west during the late nineteenth century. Industrial

revolution is identified by the efficient production techniques, introduction of mass production, assembly lines, the division of labor, and the standardization of mass goods (Fine and Leopold, 1993; Slater, 1997). The efficient production techniques resulted in higher labor wages and created a working class which involved in the consumption of these mass consumer goods (Martyn, 1993; Fine and Leopold, 1993).

The other approach argues that during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a consumer revolution occurred before the industrial revolution (McKendrick, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000; Schama, 1987). The early modern western context experienced various transformations that formed the basis of the increase in demand and industrial revolution. First, although European elites rejected the emerging popular culture, lower classes had access to new high culture due to increase in literacy and in other resources (Mukerji, 1983; Miller, 1987). Second, during the sixteenth century, a material culture emerged, where people were interested in possessions more as a consequence of commercialization (Braudel, 1992b; McKendrick, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000). For example, during the sixteenth century, Indian calicos which were consumed as luxury items previously, spread throughout the British society. The high demand to imported Indian calicos in English society led to the mechanization in textile sector and was a driving force for industrialization (Mukerji, 1983). Thirdly, beyond the formation of this material culture there was a change in the governing ethics. Mukerji (1983) argues that during the seventeenth century, protestant ethic was not only favors accumulation of money but any type of acquisition such as consumer goods. Thus, not only asceticism but hedonism grew during the period and formed attitudes towards the

possessions (Mukerji, 1983). Thus, people enjoyed acquisition of goods more during the eighteenth century in England (McKendrick, 1982).

Secondly, consumer culture is identified by the increase in the individual's interest in acquisition of goods (Braudel, 1992b; McKendrick, 1982; Schama, 1987). The availability and accessibility of goods throughout the population by the establishment of shopping spaces made people purchase more. However, now people not only purchased goods easily, but enjoyed purchasing goods in new established arcades and department stores (Benjamin, 1999; McKendrick, 1982; Walkowitz, 1992). During shopping, especially women socialized in coffee shops established within the department stores and displayed themselves in front of the shop windows (Walkowitz, 1992). Shopping is considered as a leisure pursuit and people spent most of their spare time in shopping and enjoy themselves (Lury, 1996). Campbell (1987) explained how purchasing and consumption became pleasurable for the modern consumer. By possessing objects, modern consumer aims to actualize his or her imaginations, where desires and pleasures are created. The process of modern hedonism is cyclic and starts with the desire generated by the imagination (longing) and followed by acquisition, use, disillusionment, and renewed-desire (longing something novel).

Before the early modern transformations (see chapter 3) took place, there was a strictly established boundary among the classes (such as between the landed aristocracy and the landless peasantry) and objects reflect the given social hierarchies (Braudel, 1992b; McKendrick, 1982). However, later in the early modern period, the rise of money economy allowed people to gain access to goods, positions, and social standing on the basis of their ability to purchase. Thus, people reach the desires of their minds such as the luxury goods or leisure time activities whose consumption

was previously under the dominance of elite. Moreover, as middle-classes and lower classes gained access to these goods due to their ability to purchase, a competition started among the classes which highlighted the emergence of fashion goods and innovating high class members distinguish themselves from the lower classes (Simmel, [1904] 1957; Veblen [1899] 1994). Therefore spread of luxury consumption, commercialization of leisure time activities, and commercialization of fashion goods formed the three basic indicators of consumer culture.

Third characteristic of consumer culture is the spread of luxury items throughout the population (Berry, 1994; Miller, 1987; McKendrick, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000; Schama, 1987). During the period exotic novelties and luxurious goods filled not only the houses of the aristocrats but wealthy middle-class people as well. For example, Mukerji (1983) argued that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the spread of luxury objects increased in England because of the increase in foreign trade that introduced exotic and luxurious goods of the East, such as Indian calicos and chinaware to English society. Furthermore, the Dutch economy, which Braudel (1992b, p.180) describes as a 'high voltage urban economy,' dominated world trade during the seventeenth century. The acquisition of consumer goods, including luxury goods, spread not only to the urban population but also to the rural population in the seventeenth-century Netherlands (de Vries, 1993). De Vries states that, in England, even the gentry did not own the luxury goods - silverwares, books, paintings, and maps - that Dutch farmers possessed during the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century, France witnessed its own transition from scarcity to relative abundance (Roche, 2000). Moreover, in eighteenth-century France, especially in Paris, not only did luxury goods spread throughout the population, but

inexpensive copies (i.e. populuxe goods) were also produced and distributed to the urban lower classes (Fairchilds, 1993; Roche, 2000).

Fourth characteristic of the modern consumer culture is the commercialization of leisure time activities. Like luxury goods, leisure time activities had been status symbols and later during the early modern period became accessible to middle-classes. Activities such as sport, theatre and entertainment, assemblies, balls and masquerades, leisure and pleasure gardens organized as commercial events during the eighteenth century in England. These activities became commercialized and sold either by tickets or subscription (Plumb, 1982). Moreover, shopping constituted another important leisure time activity especially among women during the late nineteenth century in England (Walkowitz, 1992). Shopping is a way to entertain one's self during consumption.

Lastly, modern consumer culture witnessed a widened consuming public which desires new and continuously changing styles (Campbell, 1987; McKendrick, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000; Slater, 1997). Fashion, in the sense of changing display of status through consumption had been limited to the aristocracy during the ancient regime mainly because of social rigidity (Slater, 1997). The manifestation of fashion shows the breaking down of the ancient regime. In the traditional, restricted systems of commodity flow, sumptuary legislation was to protect the social order. Fashion is the functional equivalent of sumptuary laws in modern societies (Appadurai, 1986; Berry, 1994, Gronow, 1997). Sumptuary laws protected status systems, restricted equivalences, and provided exchanges in a stable universe of commodities. Simmel ([1904] 1957) asserts that fashions differ for different classes; fashions of the upper stratum of society are never identical with those of the lower. The former abandons them as soon as the latter prepares to appropriate them. In

fashion systems, what is restricted and controlled is “taste,” which effectively influences and directs individual consumer choices and massified the consumption. These forms of restrictions cause strategies of changes, which are the choices of the entrepreneurial individuals. The politically and economically powerful groups in any society differentiate themselves (Appadurai, 1986). “Enclaving” and “diversion” work contrary to each other. “Enclaving” protects the commoditization of certain things; on the other hand, “diversion” draws protected things into the commoditization zone (Appadurai, 1986). Thus, a circular process which shows a constant change in goods, tastes, lifestyles characterizes modernity (Campbell, 1987; Slater, 1997; Simmel, [1904] 1957). Being fashionable means fitting to the lifestyle of the trendsetting individuals and emulating them. For Girard (1987) not only emulating the upper classes but aspiration to different identities is a characteristic of modern consumer.

Girard (1987) argues that, in modern societies, since the order is not predetermined, individuals create their own positions relative to the others around themselves and their possessions. Girard (1987; 1995) provides an understanding about the social role of desire which requires a subject, an object, and a third party in order to operate. After the rival position is defined relative to subject and object, the subject desires the same object as the rival. The reason for this process is that subject desires ‘being,’ something he himself lacks and the other is perceived to possess. The subject thus looks at the other person to inform him of what he should desire to acquire that ‘being’. The wants of mind, hedonism, fashion, and desire for luxury at the social level are explained by the concept of mimesis -mimetic desire, - which is specific to modern consumer society. The religious prohibition in the traditional society was established to keep mimesis from spreading. In a traditional society

where there is an economy of scarcity, foregoing unusual consumption by sharing, hiding, and denying consumption, or by institutionalizing ceremonial gifts, restrains mimetic desire. The more the modern subject embraces the ideologies of liberation – realizing utopias dreamed by their desire- the more they will be working to reinforce the competition from the rival (Girard, 1987).

Historical studies delineated modern consumer culture as a type of material culture where proliferation of the consumption, increase in the individual's interest and enjoyment of acquisition of goods, spread of luxury items throughout the population, commercialization of leisure time activities, and commercialization of fashion goods were observed (Brewer and Porter, 1993; Berry, 1994; Campbell, 1987; McKendrick, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000; Schama, 1987; Shammas, 1990; Weatherill, 1988). These indicators show that, in the early modern period, consumption gained a social role. It was utilized for social differentiation. During the ancient regime tradition governs the social order. In modern society, money economy governs the social relations. The early modern period in the west witnessed a break from the traditional order towards a modern society. During the early modern period, money economy created new distributions of wealth and new social classes formed. Consumption was utilized to determine the new social order of the early modern society (McKendrick, 1982; Miller, 1987; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000; Slater, 1997). Therefore, starting from Veblen ([1899], 1994), a late nineteenth century sociologist, the relation between consumption and social order has been studied by social scientists. In the following section, I provide a review of theories on the relation of consumption with social order.

2.2 Social Structure and Consumer Culture

Studies which theorize the relation between consumption and its role in the construction of social order take into consideration western societies, especially, nineteenth century English, nineteenth and twentieth centuries French, and nineteenth and twentieth centuries US cases (Bourdieu, 1989; Douglas and Isherwood, 1996; Holt, 1998; Levy, 1978; Simmel [1904] 1957; Veblen [1899] 1994; Weber, 1978). Among these studies Weber (1978) and Douglas and Isherwood (1996) adopt a static view and stated how consumption distinguishes social status of the consumer. Veblen ([1899] 1994), Simmel ([1904] 1957), Levy (1978), and Bourdieu (1989) have a relational approach and take into consideration the competition between the dominant and dominated classes.

The level of competition between the classes is related with the characteristic of the social structure; the type of (vertical) social mobility and the level of rigidity of the boundaries between the strata (Sorokin, 1959). Social mobility refers to the transition of individuals or social groups from one social stratum to another (Sorokin, 1959; Lipset and Bendix, 1992). For example, in nineteenth-century North America, the newly rich as a group were upwardly mobile (Veblen [1899] 1994). The new merchant class members established their belonging to the leisure class by emulating the English aristocracy. The level of rigidity of the social structure is related with the intensiveness and generality of vertical mobility (Sorokin, 1959). Intensiveness of vertical mobility means how many strata an individual crosses at a certain period of time (Sorokin, 1959). When the vertical mobility is very intensive; individuals pass greater distance in a shorter period of time and thus the social structure is fluid (open or less rigid). Generality of vertical mobility means the number of individuals who

change their position in a certain period of time. If the vertical mobility is very intensive and general, the strata are penetrable. Thus, the structure is fluid.

Different societies show different characteristics of social structure. French and English cases show similarities such as existence of a dominant class which is closed to lower echelons and the presence of group upward mobility within the class structure (Bourdieu, 1989; Tocqueville, 1969 in Bertaux and Thompson, 1997). For the US context, dominant class is open, i.e., not distant from the lower strata. However, the studies on the consumption do not highlight the importance of characteristic of dominant class (Holt, 1998; Levy, 1978). In addition, similar to European contexts, upward mobility among different levels of strata seems to be very common for US society (Levy, 1978).

I investigate early modern Ottoman social structure which is different than the examples studied. I focus on how this specific social structure created a different consumer culture. In the Ottoman society, the dominant class was not distant; lower echelons can penetrate easily. This means that the composition of dominant class was close to the lower strata. In addition, the boundaries between strata were not stable and there was an individual upward mobility from the lower echelons rather than group mobility.

In this part of the study, I provide a review of the studies on the role of consumption in social order. First, I present the static approach to consumption and social structure relation (Douglas and Isherwood, 1996; Weber, 1978). Next, I delineate the relational approach which considers the competition of social classes and its reflections on the consumption domain (Bourdieu, 1989; Holt, 1998; Levy, 1978; Simmel [1904] 1957; Veblen [1899] 1994).

Weber (1978) adopts a static conceptualization of consumption and social structure relation. He identifies three distinct ways of stratification: class, status, and party. Class and status are the two types that relate to consumption. Class is based on economic relations to market and stratifies the society according to the relations to production and acquisition of goods; i.e. wealth. Status groups are stratified according to the principles of the members' consumption of goods and represented by special "styles of life," (Weber, 1978: 181) which reflects a high aesthetic notion. For Weber (1978) consumption patterns in the society are homogenous within the groups of people who had similar status levels. However, Weber (1978) does not explore how consumption and the characteristics of social structure interact with each other.

Like Weber (1978), Douglas and Isherwood (1996) do not consider the characteristics of social structure on consumer culture. They assert that goods are "markers" of status and indicate social relations and social classifications. In everyday practices, the meanings of objects are used to create and maintain social relationships. The communicative functions of consumption are to pass information on lifestyle to other members of the society and to reflect back to themselves as the evidence of the life world they have created (Douglas and Isherwood, 1996). Meanings of commodities organize practice through the categories of the social order, and in turn through these practices social order is reproduced.

Douglas and Isherwood's (1996) observations for the British social structure suggest that income restricts consumption patterns of the lowest class and food consumption constitutes highest expenditure category. Douglas and Isherwood (1996) identifies the highest class as information class in which, members tend to create exclusive groups controlling access to a certain kind of information. Higher

rate of earnings and competence in judging information goods and services - such as theatre and concerts, books, pornographic literature, and education - are the factors that determine the consumption patterns of the high classes (Douglas and Isherwood, 1996). There exists an inherent assumption in their work that the consumption patterns of classes obey the rule of Maslow's hierarchy. Lower classes consume more on physiological needs and upper class members exclude themselves by consuming to satisfy self-actualization needs. This is valid in British society where the structure is more rigid and the dominant class is more distant relative to US society. However, in the US context, lower classes spent on education more than the other classes (Levy, 1978) and unlike European context the dominant class in US spent on consumer goods not culture products (Holt, 1998). Thus, the characteristic of social structure has a determining role in the consumption of different categories of goods.

Weber (1978) and Douglas and Isherwood (1996) argue that goods are the markers of status but do not provide an explanation on how consumption patterns of classes defined in relation to other classes. Veblen ([1899] 1994), Simmel ([1904] 1957), Levy (1978), and Bourdieu (1989) adopted a relational approach.

Veblen's ([1899] 1994) emulation process takes into consideration how members of the newly rich class imitate the upper echelons to show their belonging to the higher status groups by purchasing and displaying objects, which are status symbols. Thus, consumption is a way of displaying group membership, establishing individual identity, and a way of creation of social order. For example, fashion is a way of communicating the conspicuous waste and belonging to leisure class (Veblen, [1899]1994). Always being fashionably updated prevents one's decline in the social

hierarchy. Therefore, for Veblen ([1899] 1994) consumption is to prevent downward mobility and to attain upward mobility.

However, Veblen's ([1899]1994) analysis is about a social structure where a well established and a dominant aristocracy was not present in US. The newly rich merchant in North America had a British lineage and thus, got aspirations towards the English aristocracy. They emulated British aristocracy, which forms their reference point. However Veblen's ([1899] 1994) study is limited to the late nineteenth century US social structure.

Similar to Veblen ([1899]1994), Simmel ([1904] 1957) adopts a relational approach. In his explanation of fashion process, he establishes a dialectical relation between novelty and imitation. Simmel ([1904] 1957: 546) mentions two driving forces that are essential in the formation of fashion: "the need of union" of lower classes to the dominant class and "the need of isolation" of dominant class from the others. Goods communicate social standing of people and as soon as a good become fashionable, i.e. trickles-down to lower strata, upper strata members innovate products to attain their higher position and to prevent the lower class for upward mobility (Simmel, ([1904] 1957). Innovation of new consumer goods is a way of elimination of the upward mobility of the lower strata. Simmel ([1904] 1957) examines a class structure where dominant class is not penetrable from the lower strata and the class structure is very rigid. Slater (1997: 157) states that studies that consider only trickling down process presuppose "mechanical view of hierarchies."

Though dominant class in American society is relatively open to lower echelons and there is high upward mobility among the social classes, Levy (1978) takes on a very similar position to Veblen ([1899] 1994) and Simmel ([1904] 1957). He adopts Warner's work on American social class, which argues that consumer

behavior is an expression of status position within a community. Status is determined by occupation, education, and income and in turn translated into symbols like consumer goods and life style which forms the essence of social class (Levy, 1978). Different levels of status within the society forms different strata where conflict among them is expressed by the desire to associate with higher groups and avoidance of lower groups (Levy, 1978). Thus, Levy (1978) possessed a relational approach which considers the lower classes' desire of belonging to a higher class and their utilization of consumption to actualize this desire.

Bourdieu (1989) provided an extensive study on the relation between social structure and consumption. He argues that taste which is culturally constructed individual preference differs for different classes. Taste is determined by economic (financial resources), cultural (knowledge by family upbringing and education), and social capital (sources that can be used to be a member of social networks) of individuals (Bourdieu, 1989). These three kinds of capitals determine not only taste but the social position of the individual in the social order as well. High cultural capital which is composed of educational and inherited capital distinguishes the dominant class taste. The dominant class is relatively closed to the lower strata and there is a competition between the dominant high cultural capital class and the lower strata. The increasing availability of education throughout the French population leads to the increase in the cultural capital and thus an upward mobility is present in French population (see pages 131-134 for his empirical findings on French society). In the French society, high cultural capital people (members of the dominant class) differentiate themselves in the field of aesthetics according to their high aesthetic taste (Bourdieu, 1989).

Veblen ([1899] 1994), Simmel ([1904] 1957), and Bourdieu (1989) studied contexts where dominant class is impenetrable to the lower classes. Veblen ([1899] 1994) and Simmel ([1904] 1957) studied contexts where there was upward group mobility and a rival strata established. Bourdieu (1989) examined an intensive and general individual upward mobility in the French context due to diffusion of education. However, the inherited capital is the determining factor of belonging to the dominant class. The common properties of social structures studied were a distant dominant class, upward mobility, and relatively rigid social structure. In his critique of Simmel's ([1904] 1957) fashion theory, Blumer (1969) points out that Simmel focuses on certain kind of social structure – mainly on western context during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century west. Blumer (1969) implies that different types of social structures will yield different processes of movement of fashion goods through out the social strata. Despite Blumer's assertion, all the studies since Simmel have also been conducted relatively similar Western contexts. American social structure has a dominant class which is penetrable to lower echelons. Levy (1978) and Holt (1998) study American society but the explanations provided by them do not mention the impact of the characteristics of social structure.

When Holt (1998) analyzed the US society, he found that unlike French case, people with high cultural capital are the consumers of mass culture. Holt (1998) argues that aesthetics is not the field in which American elite spend their wealth, instead they expend on consumer goods such as food, interior décor, vacations, fashion, sports, reading, hobbies, and socializing. The categories that differentiate American elite from the rest are democratized throughout the society. Therefore instead of approaching the difference between the US and French conditions from the categories of spending, the characteristics of the social structure can be

considered as well. French dominant class distinguishes itself with their cultural capital gained by education and lineage. However US society does not possess an established distant aristocratic class to utilize aesthetics as a way to distinguish them. With Sorokin's (1959) terms, the US dominant class is penetrable but none of the studies has shown its impact on consumer culture.

All of the above theoretical stances locate the role of consumption in social ordering within contexts where there is upward mobility and a historically established dominant class, which is sometimes slightly open to new comers (English case) and sometimes closed (French case) (Miller, 1987). However, in the Ottoman context, the dominant class is not distant from lower classes (there was upward mobility towards and downward mobility from the dominant class) and not composed of established aristocratic family members, which possess high-level inherited cultural capital (İnalçık, 1988).

The group upward mobility in nineteenth-century English, French, and US contexts; i.e., formation of bourgeois class was the main focus of the theoretical stances mentioned above (Simmel [1904] 1957; Veblen [1899] 1994). The competition between the dominant class and the bourgeois was reflected in consumer behavior as well. The individual upward mobility was present in twentieth century American and French societies. Ottoman society witnessed both individual and group upward mobilities.

Ottoman dominant class was composed of the peasantry, who was educated, but could not transfer their wealth and status to their heirs (İnalçık, 1988). The heirs had an intergenerational downward mobility and carry their inherited cultural capitals to their new classes. Moreover, there were various forms of upward mobility. Rural peasantry moved to cities to get education in order to find lower

level jobs in the government (mobility from peasantry to high status groups) (Kunt, 1983) and to work in *wakf* institutions (formation of a new group). Freed slaves entered into business (mobility from slavery to artisan or merchant classes) (Faroghi, 2002). Moreover, Janissaries showed an upward group mobility when Ottoman state allowed them to enter into trade (Kunt, 1983).

Ottoman social structure is less rigid than the ones studied until now; the boundaries between the dominant and dominated classes blurred, there was continuous input to lower echelons from the dominant class, and upward group and individual mobility was present. In this study, I examine how a different social structure shaped a different consumer culture in terms of appropriation of different categories of goods and different processes.

2.3 Motivation for Study

There are two factors in the literature that motivated me to conduct this research. The first factor motivating me to undertake this study was the fact that the studies on the relation of consumption and social ordering studied relatively similar contexts and do not realize the characteristics of social structure as a parameter in explaining consumer culture (Bourdieu, 1989; Holt, 1998; Levy, 1978; Simmel [1904] 1957; Veblen [1899] 1994). As mentioned in the above section, in this study, I investigate the role of a different class structure; Ottoman class structure, in shaping a different consumer culture.

My second motivation concerns the way in which the multiple modern consumer cultures in our contemporary epoch have been shaped by their early

modern origins. Research on the development of contemporary consumer culture argues that the origins and development are specific to the modernization in the west (Brewer and Porter, 1993; Campbell, 1987; Fine and Leopold, 1993; McKendrick et al, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000; Slater, 1997; Schama, 1987). Recent literature on consumption studies suggests that today multiple modern consumer cultures are forming throughout the globe (Belk, Ger and Askegaard, 2003; Ger and Belk, 1999; Howes, 1996; Miller, 1995). To be able to understand multiple modernities and multiple modern consumer cultures, their specific early modern histories have to be studied, because each context produces its own institutional formations and cultural foundations (Wittrock, 1998). In this study, I examine the early modern origins of contemporary modern Turkish consumer culture; i.e. Ottoman consumer culture.

In this dissertation, I explore the question of whether an early modern consumer culture existed in a non-western context, and theorize that there was a relation between the Ottoman consumer culture and the Ottoman social structure, which was different than the ones studied. Also, I focus on the impact of ethical principles and market institutions, because examination of the transformations provides an understanding of the modernization process in the Ottoman context.

As the basis for my conclusions, I investigate two groups of research questions. The first group was formulated to explore the issue of whether there actually existed a change in consumer behavior, which would have led to the formation of a consumer culture in Ottoman society during the mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries. Specifically, I aim to determine whether between the 1550s and the 1650s: (1) consumer goods spread throughout the population; (2) the number of various consumer goods possessed by an Ottoman consumer increased; (3) luxury

consumption proliferated; and (4) fashion goods and leisure time activities became more prevalent and commercialized. The second group of research questions relates to the particularities of the Ottoman context, which distinguished that context from the West and provides an opportunity to generate a theoretical contribution. These questions concern the issues of: (1) how Ottoman social structure – different from the western examples – had an impact on the spread and consumption of luxury and fashion goods, and leisure time activities; (2) how orthodox and heterodox Islamic ideologies shaped principles regarding consumption, luxury, savings, the work ethic, pleasure, and leisure, and also between 1550s and 1650s, what disparities between these principles and the practices of consumption were; and (3) how the institutional structure influenced the Ottoman consumer culture.

In the next chapter, I provide a comparison between the western context which constituted the conjuncture for the origins of consumer culture and the Ottoman context. I present a comparison between the demographic, economic, political, cultural, and social domains of the western examples (particularly early modern English, French, and the Dutch) and Ottoman society. Lastly, I state the underlying reasons behind my choice of the Ottoman context, Bursa as the locus of this study, and the period of the study.

CHAPTER III

COMPARATIVE CONTEXT

Researchers have studied the history of European consumer culture in order to be able to understand the origins and development of modern consumer culture. These studies explore the multifaceted process of this emergence and the development by analyzing demographic, economic, political, cultural, and social transformations in early modern European contexts (Brewer and Porter eds., 1993; Campbell, 1987; McKendrick et al, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000; Schama. 1987; Shamma, 1990; Weatherill, 1988).

Many early modern Eurasian contexts including Ottoman society experienced demographic, economic, and social changes, such as population growth; dynamism and mobility in the society; growth of regional cities and towns; the rise of the urban commercial classes; religious revival; and rural unrest (Braudel, 1992; Burke, 1993; Fletcher, 1985; Goldstone, 1988; Islamoğlu and Purdue, 2001; Wittrock, 1998). However, early modern Ottoman society is especially interesting to study, because it

was different from the Western context in terms of the governing ethics and the social structure.

In the following section, I compare the early modern the Ottoman context and the demographic, economic, political, cultural, and social conditions, which led to the formation of modern consumer culture in various western contexts (see Table 3.1 for a summary of comparative context). Next, I state the reasoning behind the choice of the period of the study (mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries) and the town of Bursa as the focus of the research.

3.1 Comparison of Demographic Sphere

Population increase, urbanization, and change in the distribution of wealth were three demographic transformations took place simultaneously in Europe during the early modern period (Appleby, 1993; Braudel, 1992a; Fairchilds, 1993; McKendrick, 1982; Roche, 2000; Schama, 1987). While in the sixteenth century, population of Anatolia increased (İnalçık, 1997), in the seventeenth century it decreased due to Celali revolts (banditry terrorized the Anatolia) and plague epidemic (Faroghi, 1997). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was a growth in urbanization (Faroghi, 1997; Faroghi and Erder, 1986; İnalçık, 1997; Pamuk, 1999). Though there was no research concerning the wealth distribution of the Ottoman society, distribution of wealth in Ottoman society might have changed during the seventeenth century, because military people started dealing with trades and production (Kunt, 1983).

During the early modern era (1500-1800), the Netherlands, England, and France experienced increases in their populations synchronously with the emergence of the consumer culture (Schama, 1987; McKendrick, 1982; Fairchilds, 1993; Roche, 2000). For example, the Dutch population trebled during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the period when consumer culture emerged (Schama, 1987). Similarly, eighteenth-century England and France each witnessed an increase in population simultaneously with the emergence of modern consumer society (McKendrick, 1982; Braudel, 1992a; Appleby, 1993; Fairchilds, 1993; Roche, 2000). Barkan (1970 in Inalcık, 1997) suggests that there was an average increase of 59.9 percent in the population between 1520 and 1580. This increase in the population during the long sixteenth century was not only a characteristic of Mediterranean including “Asian Turkey” but Europe as well (Braudel, 1993: 396). An evidence of growth of urbanization in the Ottoman context was the increase of population as high as 83.6 percent in large Ottoman cities during the sixteenth century (Barkan, 1970 in Inalcık, 1997). However, during the seventeenth century, Ottoman population decreased especially in the rural regions due to the *celali* revolts and plague epidemic. Population in the rural regions moved to the cities and thus urban population showed increase in the cities during the seventeenth century in the Ottoman context (Faroghi, 1997).

An increase in the population does not in itself mean much in terms of the development of consumer culture. However, one of the consequences of population increase was urbanization; i.e., the spread of towns and cities, and it is no coincidence that consumer culture was mainly an urban phenomenon (McKendrick, 1982). For example, Braudel (1992) states that the Dutch population expanded from one million inhabitants in 1500 to two million in 1650 and this led to the expansion

of the urban complex. England and France experienced urbanization during the eighteenth century (Mc Kendrick, 1982; Roche, 2000). One of the factors precipitating this urban growth was the higher administrative class that brought wealth and administrative personnel to the towns; the pious foundations in which the rich donated part of their wealth to *wakfs*, creating opportunities for employment; and the change in the economic structure in which trade with Europe had significant influence (Faroghi and Erder, 1986).

Commercialization, social mobility, and the emergence of popular culture were consequences of urbanization (Fletcher, 1985). These are economic, social, and cultural consequences of urbanization and will be mentioned in the following sections of this chapter. Commercialization made consumer goods available and accessible to the population (McKendrick, 1982). Upward social mobility fueled the mechanism of emulation among the lower classes, so that new urbanites started to consume status goods like fashion and luxury items (McKendrick, 1982; Simmel [1904], 1957; Veblen [1899], 1994). Moreover, the new urbanites created their own popular art forms apart from “high” art. For example, during the seventeenth century, Dutch painters did not produce for highly cultivated elite but rather sold their pictures to members of the middle levels of society (Ger and Belk, working paper).

Another demographic transformation in early modern Europe was the change in the distribution of wealth. The accumulation and redistribution of rent from land, taxes, and profits from trade and manufacture constituted the wealth of towns in Europe (Braudel, 1992a; Roche, 2000). Wealth was distributed unevenly between different social groups, and as a result, different consumption patterns emerged

among these groups. For example, innovations such as populuxe goods developed to satisfy the lower classes, who held a smaller share of the society's wealth.

For the early modern Ottoman context, there was no research conducted on the distribution of wealth. However, I compared the variability in wealth values between the ruling (*askeri*) and the ruled class members (excluding the peasantry) who were living in the city of Bursa during the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. Probate inventory records provided the total amount of wealth accumulated by each individual throughout their life time. I conducted group comparison by ANOVA test (see Chapter 4 for calculations and see Table 3.2 for the results). The impact of class on log (wealth) has been analyzed. Class seemed to have a main effect on the log (wealth) values [$F(7, 356) = 5.241$ $p=0.023$] but with a very small effect size (eta squared = 0.015). Small effect size shows that difference in the mean scores between the two classes (ruling and the ruled) were actually very small (3.95 and 3.8 for ruling and the rules respectively). With a large enough sample ($N= 364$), quite small differences can become statistically significant, even if the difference between the groups is of little practical importance (Pallant, 2005). Moreover, the interaction between the period and the class variables does not have an effect on the log (wealth) values [$F(7, 356) = 0.074$ $p= 0.009$]. This shows that there was not any shift in the wealth distribution among the two classes (dominant and dominating) between the two periods.

In early modern Europe, there was also an overall increase in wealth that yielded an increase in the acquisition of consumer goods and interest in leisure time activities. One of the questions asked by economic historians is how consumer demand adapts to changes in prosperity which have affected consumers' incomes. De Vries (1993) examined probate inventories of Dutch peasants dating from 1550-

1750. He found that, the level of material prosperity increased until 1650. From the sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century, the quantity and quality of urban goods possessed by these peasants also increased. For instance, during the sixteenth century, they possessed goods such as books, paintings, mirrors, and clocks, and by the mid-seventeenth century, had acquired urban home furnishings such as round or eight sided tables, armchairs, and wooden and tin bowls. With the decrease in prosperity after 1650, most of them suffered. Another example is the affluent eighteenth-century affluent British society, in which the population showed an increased interest in leisure activities such as theatre, music, gardening, and horseracing (Plumb, 1982). Such leisure activities were commercialized because it was very expensive to conduct them in private houses. For example new theatres were built. Moreover, commercialization of leisure activities also promoted their proliferation in the society.

The study of not only periods of increase, but also periods of decline offered insights into consumer culture. Wijssenbeek (in de Vries,1993) studied the consumer behavior of the wealthy classes during the economic decline of the Netherlands and found this behavior varied, but that a clear priority was placed on acquiring socially strategic commodities, especially in the categories of clothing, home furnishings, and tableware.

An increase in population, urbanization, and changes in the distribution of wealth were all demographic transformations that had an impact on the early modern European consumer culture. The increase in population led to migration from rural to urban regions and became a factor in the growth of urbanization. This in turn impacted the development of consumer culture, since urbanization gave impetus to commercialization, social mobility, and the emergence of popular art forms; i.e., to

changes in the economic, social, and cultural domains respectively. Commercialization led to the proliferation of consumption, providing availability and accessibility of goods. Socially mobile people constructed their belonging to a social group by acquiring and displaying consumer goods that symbolized status. Emergence of popular art forms was an example of the formation of popular taste distinct from aristocratic taste and the democratization of art throughout the population. Moreover, a decrease in wealth did not always lead to a decrease in the consumption of status goods; what people consumed was constructed socially and culturally. In the following section, I focus on commercialization (trade, market institutions, and commercial techniques) and its influence on consumer culture.

3.2 Comparison of Economic Sphere and Market Transformations

Scholarly work has linked the emergence of modern consumer culture to a commercial revolution that occurred during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, long before the industrial revolution (McKendrick, 1982; Mukerji, 1983). During the early modern period, increases in regional and international trade and commercialization (increase in the amount and variety of instruments of exchange and use of new commercial techniques) were simultaneous developments which had a positive impact on the development of consumer culture by increasing the availability and accessibility of goods throughout the population. These developments thus, supported the spread of acquisition of goods throughout the population as well as interest in acquisition of goods (McKendrick, 1982).

Faroghi (1997) argues that during the seventeenth century, Ottoman Empire exported agricultural products and manufactured goods while importing European cloth. However, these exchanges were not so large that makes the Ottoman Empire governed by the European world economy. Ottoman merchants had organized craft industries and set up efficient networks for distribution, and European traders who tried to enter into Ottoman markets found themselves in fierce competition with the Ottoman merchants (Faroghi, 1997). Different regions of the Empire were linked through caravan routes which were under severe control of the Ottoman state. Istanbul, Edirne, Aleppo, and Cairo were the four main nodes of caravan route network. During the seventeenth century, while merchants from Arabic-speaking provinces continued to trade in Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, Ottoman sea trades was in decline and a significant level of sea trade was lost to Europeans (Faroghi, 1997).

Between 1600 and 1800, urban networks were distributed along trade routes, especially in the northern and western direction on the map of Europe (Lerner, 1988). The increase in regional and international trade was made possible by an established market institution which made the goods available and accessible to consumers. During the early modern period, in Europe, there was an increase in the number of peddlers, markets and bazaars, fairs, and shops. Towns and cities were centers of regional and international trade where ‘instruments of exchange’ such as markets, shops, and fairs were located (Braudel, 1992a, 25). Moreover, peddlers distributed goods in both rural and urban areas, conducting an appreciable volume of trade, and filled in the gaps in the regular channels of distribution in towns during the early modern period (McKendrick, 1982; Braudel, 1992a).

The increase in the number of peddlers, markets, fairs, and shops was evidence of commercialization during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Ottoman Empire (Faroghi, 1997; Pamuk, 1999). *Wakf* system, specific to Ottoman context, played a crucial role in the commercialization. *Wakfs* were pious foundations established by members of military class, local merchants, other capital owners, and provincial elites as a kind of philanthropic activity (İnalçık, 1973). Money donated to *wakfs* was used to establish mosques, bazaars, shops, caravanserais, fountains, baths, and soup kitchens i.e., most of the distribution channel and the necessities for the merchants who were away from their home. In the sixteenth century, money/capital *wakfs* as a commercial activity were established to provide credit to small artisans and consumers (Çızakça, 1999; İnalçık, 1997).

A traditional instrument of exchange was the itinerant peddler, who not only distributed goods to the urban and rural publics and increased the availability of consumer goods in the society, but also spread popular literature and almanacs to rural areas in early modern Europe. For example, in eighteenth-century England, peddlers distributed not only pottery but also catalogues of those products to the countryside (McKendrick, 1982). Peddling was very flexible and left room for new products and markets because it was free from legal restrictions and had low costs when compared to shops and markets (Fairchilds, 1993). However, though the guild system was strong in France (like the Ottoman context), which means the prices and quality standards of products were under strict control, at least in Paris, peddlers engaged in illegal types of exchange such as smuggling and trading on street corners and bridges and compete against guild members. Even as late as 1778, Dutch peddlers sold a vast array of goods to the rich, who spent most of the year in the countryside (Fairchilds, 1993).

During seventeenth century, peddlers in the Ottoman Empire – like everywhere in Europe – served the rural areas and the poor, because cost of transportation to the market places was high for the peasantry and the poor. There was considerable competition between the peddlers and the shops and market stalls, because peddlers sold their goods for a slightly lower price (Faroghi, 2000). Though the Ottoman Empire was known for its strict price regulations (*narh*), peddlers thwarted these restrictions, and detecting them was hard for the authorities. This type of illegal exchange is evidence of negotiation regarding price and distribution among the parties without allowing the intervention of the state. These changes signaled a break with the traditional order.

Markets, which were permanent and specialized institutions in early modern Europe, increased in number with the growth of regional trade (Braudel, 1992). Roche (2000) defines a market as the natural commercial sphere of a town or a locality that responded mostly to local needs. In most cases, markets were established weekly. Increase in the frequency of purchase is an indicator of the emergence of modern consumer culture. Seventeenth-century Paris witnessed an increase in the number of markets, most of which were specialized (Roche, 2000). During the eighteenth century, markets became daily events in England (McKendrick, 1982, Braudel, 1992).

In the Ottoman lands, there was only one market per district before the mid-sixteenth century (Faroghi, 2000). From the 1560s onwards, village markets proliferated, particularly in settlements located on the more important trade routes, but also often in provinces where integration within the system of inter-regional exchange was comparatively slight. Moreover, the investments of pious foundations

in the shops and storage spaces of such village markets indicated the liveliness of local trade and thus the spread of goods throughout society (Faroghi, 2000).

Fairs played a significant role in the emergence of consumer society because they brought together all the significant factors required for intensifying consumption. These factors were: display of domestic and foreign commodities; attraction of large-scale trade; exchanges of different and low-quality products; wholesale dealing in small quantities and retail trade; and, existence of the widest possible public markets for such goods (Braudel, 1992; Roche, 2000). Moreover, there was an active money market in the fairs, without which it was impossible to conduct business. The exchange in fairs concentrated on credit rather than commodities. In addition, fairs juxtaposed exchange with enjoyment, and provided entertainment in which the act of consumption expanded from the purchase situation (Braudel, 1992). Braudel describes famous fairs in London, Paris, and Amsterdam during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as sites where people went for pleasure-seeking, amusement, and leisure rather than solely for serious trading. In this context, fairs can be considered as the early forms of contemporary theme parks and shopping malls where consumers socialize, are entertained, and receive pleasure from the experience of shopping.

From the mid-sixteenth century to eighteenth century, several types of fairs were common in the territories of the Ottoman Empire. During the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, there were two types of fairs (*panayır*) (Faroghi, 1987). The first one was local and supplied cloth, shoes, pottery, and other such consumer goods. The second type was where business transactions were conducted between retailers and wholesalers for raw materials and foodstuffs. During the seventeenth century, fairs seem to have declined as nodes of internal trade, but they

were revived in the course of the eighteenth century, resulting in a network for the distribution of imported manufactured goods (Faroghi, 2000). This indicates not only the change in commercialization of the economy, but also the increase in the demand for imported consumer goods, i.e., western manufactured goods, during the eighteenth century.

Like markets and fairs, the spread of shops in the towns was also an indication of the increase in the frequency of purchase and the spread of consumption throughout the society. Previously, only artisans had owned shops, but later in early modern Europe, shops for retailing became common (Braudel, 1992). In eighteenth-century England and France, shops became more widespread (Braudel, 1992; McKendrick, 1982; Roche, 2000). Shops were fixed points of sale that distributed goods, where people came to chat, be entertained, and bargain. In the eighteenth century, shops started to replace fairs in the Netherlands, and in England goods became increasingly available on an everyday basis through the advancing networks of shops and shopkeepers (McKendrick, 1982; Braudel, 1992b). Luxuriously decorated shops selling consumer goods such as umbrellas, perfumes, and other accessories were established in the eighteenth century in Paris (Fairchilds, 1993).

Though an extensive study on the shops and their characteristics was not present for the Ottoman context, there are examples which highlight the proliferation of shops between the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. During the 17th century, a decree of Sultan mentioned an increase in the number of flower shops from 5 to 200 (Altinay, 1988). A Portuguese slave lived in Istanbul from 1552 to 1555, argued that in the summer time numerous flower shops were opened, with some costing around 500 Duca (Carim, 1996).

In addition to the increase in trade and market institutions, new commercial techniques - such as new types of financial operations, methods of distribution, and promotion - became the distinct features of the consumer society in the seventeenth-century Netherlands and eighteenth-century France and England (McKendrick, 1982; Braudel, 1992b; Roche, 2000). Styles (1993: 536) defined commercialization as: “everything from the advent of shops and advertisements to the establishment of market relationships *de novo*.” Banking institutions supported utilization of warehousing and redistribution of goods. Different types of business transactions such as commission and acceptance trade made market exchange easier. Commission trade (is called *mudaraba* in the Ottoman context) meant handling goods on behalf of another person. Acceptance trade was the use of a bill of exchange where the party that signed the bill of exchange became the principal debtor for the amount written on the document. Bills of exchange became important vehicles of credit throughout Europe (Braudel, 1992b).

Capital *wakfs* can be considered as a kind of financial institution. They started functioning at the beginning of early fifteenth century and had spread across Anatolia by around the late sixteenth century (Çizakça, 1999). Money was donated instead of any type of real estate which was more common. Capital was lent, and after a period the capital, together with extra money was paid back. That extra money was used for public services. There was a strong debate on the legitimacy of this type of capital *wakfs* among Muslim authorities, because Islamic law forbids usury and interest. However during the sixteenth century *Şeyh'ül-islam* (the highest religious authority in the Ottoman Empire) Ebusuud Efendi (1490-1574), gave a *fetva* (a formal opinion of the religious authority), declaring that the extra money was legitimate because it was used for the benefit of Muslim society (Çizakça, 1999).

Mainly trustees of *wakfs* or consumers, not business owners, borrowed money from the *wakfs*. A small portion of the original borrowers re-lent the money to bankers in Istanbul. Capital *wakfs* were for the benefit of consumers, who needed liquid money in order to consume. Capital *wakfs* became more popular during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because of the high maintenance costs of the buildings whose rents constituted the income for the *wakfs* (Çiftçi, 2004; Faroqhi, 2000).

Promotion and distribution were other new types of commercial techniques used in England during the eighteenth century (McKendrick, 1982). For example, Josiah Wedgewood supplied high quality pottery to the aristocracy and built display rooms to which common folk could not enter (Polanyi, 1957). Wedgewood used warehouses, showrooms, exhibitions, trademarks, new standards of display, advertisements, free carriage, and traveling salesmen to reach different segments of the market. He offered lower quality goods at low prices to lower middle-class customers and displayed these goods in shops where customers served themselves. Moreover, Wedgewood used the press to communicate his wares' quality (McKendrick, 1982).

In eighteenth-century France, as in England, distribution and promotion were used as commercial techniques in the marketing of consumer goods. The crowded shops of eighteenth-century Paris were the remote ancestors of the modern department stores (Roche, 2000). In addition, segmentation was applied as a marketing technique in the distribution and sales of goods in Paris. For example, the populuxe market was served by peddling and the upper-class market by luxuriously decorated shops that carried a variety of goods (Fairchilds, 1993).

Number of newspaper ads increased, but also not only did the customer have an abundance of goods to choose from in the eighteenth century (Roche, 2000).

Promotions reached the public through the circulation of written and printed matter of every kind in France and in England during the eighteenth century. These printed materials not only included advertisements but other sorts of information as well. Printed matter contributed to a change in consumer behavior by aiding in the distribution of economic information, and knowledge of technical procedures. In France, advertising during the eighteenth century lagged behind that of England where posters and billboards on the sides of buildings dominating (Roche, 2000).

The increase in regional and international trade that took place with the help of various types of market institutions and commercial techniques made an enormous number of goods available to the consumer. Thus, democratization of consumption, i.e., acquisition of goods throughout the population, became possible. However, economic transformation during the period was dependent on state policies, which defined the rules of commerce and consumption.

There was no research conducted on the use of new marketing techniques such as promotion or distribution during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During my research I have identified a few cases where poetry as a medium was used as a way to communicate the attributes of products. For example, poems were written on sandals worn in the baths mentioning the characteristics of the bath (Koçu, 1967).

The west and Ottoman comparison of the economic and market activities show that in both of the contexts there was an increase in the number of the instruments of exchange. Wakf institution which formed the foundation of commercialization was a specificity of Ottoman society. For the Ottoman context, currently, it is not possible to talk about emergence of marketing techniques such as promotion tools. The underlying reason might be the absence of data sources which

would highlight the period's business practices such as the records kept by Ottoman merchants (Çizakça, 1999).

3.3 Comparison of Political Sphere

In the political sphere, economic policies and the legislations that regulate consumption and production are the important factors that influence consumer culture. The transformation of economic policies from mercantilism to liberalism in the early modern absolute monarchies of Europe had an impact on the development of modern consumer culture. Mercantilist policies focused on the balance-of-payment principle, which aimed to increase the revenues of the national treasury by supporting exports rather than imports or domestic consumption of products (Braudel, 1992a). Mercantilism was a national economic policy. Braudel (1992a) argues that mercantilism was the transfer of control of economic activity from the local community to the state. However, mercantilism as an economic policy inhibited the spread of domestic consumption by restricting imports in order to fill the treasury by means of export revenues. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries liberal intellectuals such as Nicholas Barbon, Thomas Mun, and Adam Smith questioned the balance-of-payment principle and suggested that higher domestic consumption would be better for the growth of the national economy (McKendrick et al, 1982; Berry, 1994). The idea behind this was that the availability of the comforts and conveniences of life to all ranks of society operated as a stimulus to the growth of industry. Unlike the absolute monarchies of France and England, the Dutch state drew its power from federalism based on the association of tiny urban

republics (Braudel, 1992b). The Dutch state did not apply mercantilist policies, which was characterized by the state's intervention in the economy to prevent the domestic consumption and to favor the exporting.

The Ottoman state applied an economic policy still different from that of any of these European states. It employed a mixed type of policy – half-mercantilist, half-socialist. Inalcik (1997: 51) argues that “against mercantilist economics of contemporary European powers, Ottoman statesmen clung to the policy of free markets, their main concern being to provide the home market with abundance of necessary commodities...the Ottoman government, bound by traditional concepts, encouraged the import of goods into the empire but discouraged exports. They taxed imports and exports at the same rate and prohibited the export of certain goods where this might cause a shortage in the home market.”

Kafadar (1986) asserts that the Ottoman administrators were aware of the balance-of-trade argument of the mercantilist policy. The balance-of-trade argument states that the volume of bullion in a country declines if merchants bring in goods and take out cash instead of local goods. However, the balance-of-trade principle had never been applied as a policy in the Ottoman realm, because the aim of the state was to increase state revenues and to promote human welfare (İnalçık, 1997). The Ottoman state's negative attitude toward the balance-of-trade principle could be expected to provide a positive condition for the emergence of consumer culture, because this meant that no restrictions were placed on the domestic consumption.

Çızakça (1999) argues that in order to promote human welfare, the Ottoman state behaved as a pseudo-socialist government and established institutions that were responsible for the control of supply, product quality, and price. However, these pseudo-socialist policies restricted the growth of consumer culture, depending on

how strictly they were enforced. The pseudo-mercantilist and pseudo-socialist policies of the state thus worked in opposite directions regarding the creation of conditions for the emergence of consumer culture.

Though different economic policies were applied in different contexts, sumptuary laws constituted an important characteristic of the early modern period which defines the social order by determining who will consume what. As early as the sixteenth century, the newly rich Dutch started to consume art works and luxury items. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch were trading with all known parts of the world and became a world power. The rise in the power of the merchant class was evident in that some of the Dutch laws aimed at restricting the consumption of elite rather than limiting encroachments by the emerging middle-class (Belk, 1995). It was during the mid-seventeenth century that sumptuary laws (which were however circumvented by the public) were enacted restricting the extravagance, size, and duration of feasts, weddings, and funerals in the Netherlands (Schama, 1987). Sumptuary laws and mercantilist policies were useless attempts to slow the initial expansion of consumer culture be it in England, France, or the Netherlands. The rise of consumer culture was an ideological and cultural shift that influenced both state policies and social values during the early modern age in Europe.

Roche (2000) states that, sumptuary laws entered into the consumption system in two ways. On the social plane, they reserved certain types of consumption to certain ranks. On the economic plane, their aim was to restrict waste and control luxury consumption by the aristocracy. Belk (1995) argues that sumptuary laws were an imperfect instrument but a useful index of the change from a rigid aristocratic system to a more fluid society. The social mobility of the lower strata gave rise to questions about the state's ability to protect the traditional social order,

since members of the lower strata emulated the consumption patterns of the upper echelons of the society (Veblen [1899] 1994).

Before the eighteenth century, sumptuary laws in France restricted the lower classes from buying luxury goods and reserved to the elite certain prerogatives of dress to indicate a hierarchical social position (Roche, 2000). By the 1780s these barriers to populuxe consumption had fallen. France had enacted no new sumptuary laws since 1720, and the social order displayed increasing possibilities for social mobility as disdain for traditional aristocratic values grew (Fairchilds, 1993). The consequence was the development of populuxe goods. The ideologies of liberationists changed policies towards the issuance of sumptuary laws first in England and then in France. Liberationists saw luxury consumption as beneficial to the society and state because they argued that domestic consumption would yield economic growth (Berry, 1994). Furthermore, liberationists criticized the mercantilist policies which restricted domestic consumption.

The Ottoman state had a centralized regime with a strongly established bureaucracy and control over all domains of social life before the seventeenth century (İnalçık, 1980). Thus, sumptuary laws were issued to establish the societal order like in many other European societies. After the conquest of Istanbul (1453), Mehmet II established regulations that fixed clothing for all ranks and categories of Ottoman subjects. Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver expanded these laws and delineated the dress of minority (Jirousek, 2000). Quataert (1993) argues that sumptuary laws were strictly obeyed until the eighteenth century, when signs of economic and social transformations came into sight. However, my findings of comparison of probate data records with the norms on clothing locate this

transformation period before the eighteenth century, during the seventeenth century which is delineated as a period of socio-economic crisis (Faroghi, 1997).

Transformations in economic policies and circumvention of sumptuary laws were factors that supported the development of consumer culture by changing the rules of trade and consumption. Mercantilist policies which supported filling up the treasury by export revenues transformed to liberationist policies that collected revenues from domestic consumption and favored individual will in England and France. Sumptuary laws restricted consumption to certain class in order to obtain the traditional order in the society and later these laws became ineffective due to the circumvention of them by traders and consumers in England, France, the Netherlands, and the Ottoman Empire. These changes in the political sphere had roots in the transformations within the ethical system, which is presented in the following section.

3.4 Comparison of Cultural Sphere

Early modern west witnessed a break from the ethical rules and regulations which had long been accepted in the societies. The ethical principles were either disregarded or new ethical discourses which contradicted the old ones started to govern everyday practices. Ottoman context during the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries experienced similar dynamics and disparity between the ethical principles and the practices is observed throughout this research. However, in the field of Ottoman studies, an extensive study that maps out the various ethics extant in the period and the social role of ethics have not been studied (Ocak, 1994).

Therefore, it is problematic to provide a detailed description on the Islamic ethics in the ways it was experienced in the Ottoman context. In this section, I first state the ethical systems governing western contexts and focus on the orthodox and heterodox Islamic ethics in the way interpreted by the Ottoman Turks.

The Protestant, humanist, romantic, and liberal ethics, and belief systems that were extant in the early modern west have been studied by consumption historians (Campbell, 1987; McKendrick et al, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Schama, 1983; Weber, 1998). Weber's well-known argument claims that the protestant ethic that shaped the early modern entrepreneur enjoined living modesty, saving money and making wise investments (Weber, 1998). During the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Netherlands, Calvinist and humanist ethics were the dominant discourses, and both of these ideologies argued that wealth was dirty. Thus, the consequence of the interaction of these two ethics in the Dutch context was indirect support of expenditure rather than capital accumulation, as a way to free oneself from the suspicion of greed and there had always been a disparity between principles and practices (Schama, 1987). Humanist discourse promotes expenditure for the benefit of community, such as engaging in philanthropy, lending to public institutions or even providing a comfortable life to one's own family (Schama, 1987).

Historical research about sixteenth and seventeenth-century England showed evidence that it was not possible to find a pure ascetic entrepreneur, in fact, most businessmen enjoyed accumulating consumer goods and luxury items (Mukerji, 1983). Thus, early modern England juxtaposed ascetic and hedonic ethics which shaped the individual. Campbell (1987) adopted a line of thought parallel with that of Mukerji (1983), arguing that the romantic ethic defined the modern hedonist in eighteenth-century England. The modern hedonist was described as a person who is

continually moving back from reality when s/he meets it, shaping her/his daydreams, attaching them to objects of desire, then detaching them from these objects as soon as they are experienced (Campbell, 1987). The influence of romantic ethic, which upgraded values of individuality, autonomy, imagination, and self-illusion, shaped modern hedonism and also the concepts of want, need, and luxury that delineated the consumer behavior of the modern individual. Unlike the classical view, which valued the desires of the body and Christian views, which valued ascetic virtue and salvation, the liberal thinkers of the eighteenth century valued the desires of the mind or imagination. In this view the usefulness of most things, and hence trade, stemmed from their ability to meet the wants of the mind and the imagination (Berry, 1994).

Furthermore, the ideologies of liberal intellectuals supported luxury consumption. In the traditional view, sumptuary legislation was the tool that put a premium on controlling the influx of luxury goods. The ancient Roman idea about luxury was that if there was no control, luxuries would flood in and destroy social virtue. Contrary to this Roman ideology, in the seventeenth century Barbon (1690 quoted in Berry, 1994) stated that the freer trade is, the more a nation will thrive. In England, the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries witnessed intense debate as to the relationship between the world of commerce and credit, and the idea of virtue, which was understood as the civic disposition to uphold the state. Barbon (1690 quoted in Berry, 1994) argued that it was expenditure on clothing and lodging that promoted trade. It was the wants of the mind, fashion, and the desire for novelties and scarce items [luxury] that promoted trade, which in turn would bring employment, improve the natural stock of the country, raise rents and improve yields, occasion peace, increase revenue, enlarge defensive capabilities, and help enlarge the Empire.

The wants of the mind, hedonism, fashion, and the desire for luxury at the social level are explained by the concept of mimesis -mimetic desire - which is specific to modern consumer society (see section 2.1 for a detailed description of mimesis). Girard (1987) mentions that the religious prohibition in traditional society was established to keep mimesis from spreading. In a traditional society, where there is an economy of scarcity, foregoing unusual consumption by sharing, hiding, and denying consumption, or by institutionalizing ceremonial gifts, restrains mimetic desire. The more the modern subject embraces the ideologies of liberation – realizing utopias dreamed by their desire – the more s/he will be working to reinforce the competition from the rival (Girard, 1987).

Islamic ethics, the version which was experienced in the Ottoman context, had commonalities with as well as differences from the Protestant, humanist, romantic, and liberal ethics which were extant in the early modern West, and have been studied by historians of consumption (Campbell, 1987; McKendrick et al., 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Schama, 1987). Islamic ethics consists of two ideologies: orthodox and heterodox. Orthodox Islam establishes a dialectical relation between worldly activities and the activities related to the divine (Ülgener, 1981). Orthodox ethics thus appeared to be a combination of humanist and Protestant ethics in a single body of discourse. The ideal Muslim, in the view of orthodox Islam, had to work hard to earn a living and accumulate a certain level of wealth, which should however not dominate his inner world (Ülgener, 1981). Wealth earned should be consumed in appropriate ways, such as meeting the demands of Islam; meeting personal and family needs; gift giving; making charitable donations to obtain people's blessings; and supporting poets (Öztürk, 1991). Orthodox ethics condemn miserliness that would risk one's social status; consuming for desires which religion prohibits (e.g.,

drinking wine), excessive wasteful and conspicuous consumption, and apparently, philanthropic consumption undertaken for purposes of self-promotion and showing off (Öztürk, 1991; Şeker, 1997).

Heterodox Islamic ethics, which is a fusion of mystic values originating in different religious discourses and the Islamic discourse, deforms the dialectic between worldly affinities and divinity that exists in orthodox ethics. Heterodox ethics emphasizes the divine side, espousing the idea of effortlessly trusting God in every concern of life. Heterodox discourse does not favor interest in the material side of life, which would include conspicuous consumption, display, and luxury, but rather calls on individuals to spend time in religious practices in order to reach God (Ülgener, 1981). However, this idea was distorted by the less educated members of the Sufi lodges, and Ülgener (1981) argues that these people enjoyed the pleasures of leisure time activities and consumption instead of involving themselves in production. Belig, who lived during the early eighteenth century, favored hedonism and disliked the kind of materialism that aimed at the accumulation of wealth (Abdulkadiroğlu, 1988). In his *şehrengiz*, he mentioned the morality on hedonism, and wealth accumulation in Bursa as (Abdulkadiroğlu, 1988: 139):

...Pleasure never came to mind
The name of wine was forgotten

The people of the era became tasteless
The idea was to gather purses

Desire for wealth (māl) was so great that
The seal of the big purse was the sole perfection...

Islamic ethics – as the way experienced in the Ottoman context – shaped not only the Ottoman consumer, but the institutions that regulated consumption, such as *wakfs*, guilds, and the state, as well. The orthodox Islamic

rationale behind the *wakf* institutions was to spend personal wealth for the benefit of society to prevent the domination of the self's inner world by the material side of life. The *wakf* institution is actually a philanthropic consumption item but at the same time created a dialogic relation between the market structure and the consumer. Consumers used their money to establish *wakf* institutions, which in turn established elements of a market infrastructure, such as bazaars, caravanserais, and shops, as well as many other institutions, such as mosques, baths, and soup kitchens, which created opportunities for the labor force. In addition, financial *wakfs*, which provided credit to consumers and artisans at a certain level of interest, supported consumption and small entrepreneurship. The consequence of putting money into *wakf* institutions was the expansion of the market. The system indirectly promoted market activity and consumption by channeling profits from consumption to the development of the market. This dialogic relation very likely was one of the forces behind the increase in trade and commercialization during the seventeenth century and the spread of *wakf* establishments throughout the social structure. Faroqhi (2000) argues that the investments of *wakf* endowments in the shops and storage spaces of village markets indicated the liveliness of local trade and the spread of goods throughout society. Before the seventeenth century, *wakfs* were established mostly by military men and their relatives. Later, participation in this activity spread to other social groups like local merchants, other capital owners, and provincial elites (Akgündüz and Öztürk, 1999).

Guilds, which were the loci of production, also had close relations with the *sufi* lodges, which were dominated by heterodox ethics. However, Mantran (1991) states that after the fifteenth century Ottoman guilds were secularized and became the representations of a social rather than a religious context. Nonetheless, guilds

were shaped by a tradition very much influenced by heterodox ethics, which defined the ideal artisan as trustworthy and modest, and shaped the organizational structure of guilds and the interpersonal relations among the guild (Ülgener, 1981). The Ottoman state intervened in the functioning of the guilds by controlling pricing, distribution, supply of raw materials and the quality of goods to prevent competition among the guild members in order to protect consumers. This practice led to the prevention of the emergence of a capital-accumulating class (İnalcık, 1973). However, the Ottoman state negotiated with the guilds in certain instances.

Orthodox Islam was the dominant ideology shaping the Ottoman state (Ocak, 1994). The state adopted half-socialist and half-mercantilist economic policies, unlike the mercantilist states of Europe (Çızakça, 1999; İnalcık, 1997). In addition to its intervention in economic activities, the Ottoman state issued not-always-observed sumptuary laws to prevent conspicuous consumption by the lower social classes. However, the Ottoman state was not strictly bounded by the principles of orthodox ethics, but instead continuously negotiated with market agents such as guilds and merchants as early as the fifteenth century (İnalcık, 1973).

In sum, orthodox and heterodox Islamic ethics provided room for negotiation of the rules and practices of the market place, much like the Protestant, humanist, romantic, and liberal ethics in Europe. Yet, both hedonism and religious morality appear to be more social, more community-based, among the Ottomans. Thus, Ottoman ethics legitimized types of consumption which were community-based, such as consuming for charity purposes, and going to coffeehouses, and baths.

3.5 Comparison of Social Sphere

Characteristics of social order; i.e. nature of dominant class, the types of vertical mobility, and the rigidity of social structure were the factors that had influence on the formation and defining characteristics of consumer culture. The studies on the origins of consumer culture explain spread of consumer goods, consumption of luxury and fashion products and leisure time activities by a top down process, which reflects the competition between the dominant and dominating classes (Campbell, 1987; Fairchild, 1993; McKendrick, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Plumb, 1982; Schama, 1987; Simmel [1904] 1957; Veblen [1899] 1994). The composition and the level of openness of the dominant class to new comers are the two important factors that delineate the character of the dominant class in these studies. In addition, upward or downward and individual or group vertical mobilities define the composition of classes. Moreover, intensiveness and generality of vertical mobilities define the rigidity of social structure.

The nature of social structure and especially the dominant class in western and Ottoman contexts differ. During early modern period, in the European context, feudal system broke down and new classes formed between the class of landowners and the class of landless peasantry (Poggi, 1978). Particularly, due to the impact of urbanization, the peasant population moved to towns, and new middle and working classes formed. However, it should be kept in mind that the domination of landowning gentry continued (Everitt, 1966). Though, impact of urbanization was experienced in the Ottoman context, it is not possible to talk about the presence of a feudality.

Yet, Marxist interpretation states that Ottoman system of state ownership of land, i.e., Asiatic mode of production, was a kind of feudality, İnalçık (1997) recently shows the differences of Ottoman system from the western feudal system. Marxist view argues that state ownership of land in the Ottoman Empire (and in other Asian countries like Mughal Empire in India) founded on the right of conquest. The direct producers were exploited and a military feudal class appropriated the excess product (İnalçık, 1997). In this explanation, state ownership is seen as a way of military feudal class's exploitation of the producers. Thus, according to this view there is no difference between a feudal lord and a centralist state with a dominant military feudal class. However, İnalçık (1997) state that *timar* holders (military class who controlled the land and peasantry) cannot be compared to western feudal seigneurs. *Timar* holders collected the assigned tax revenue but had no specific rights to land or on peasants except the services specified by the law. They did not have the right to possess and inherit the land. Moreover, *timar* owners frequently dismissed from their positions (İnalçık, 1997). İnalçık (1997: 115) states that:

This [*timar* system] impressed contemporary European observers and was interpreted as the principal reason why the Ottomans did not have a patrimonial feudal system or hereditary landed nobility as in the West.

Ottoman society consisted of two main categories: the ruling class, which was exempt from taxes, and the ruled, who were the taxpayers (İnalçık, 1997). The ruling class consisted of administrative and military groups and composed of Muslims. Those two groups differentiated into fractions according to occupation and wealth. The second group consisted of three subgroups: merchants, artisans, and peasants. Each of these three had still smaller subdivisions according to occupation and wealth (İnalçık, 1997).

Within the ruling class, not only *timar* holders but the Ottoman bureaucrats could not pass their status and wealth to their sons. High-level administrators were gathered from the peasantry in the Balkans, educated, and hired for positions relative to their level of capability (İnalcık, 1997; Thevenot, 1978).

Gofman's (2004) narrative about Kubad, a *devşirme* ("levy of boys from Christian rural population for services at the palace or the divisions of the standing army at the Porte" (İnalcık, 1997: xlv)), informs us about the life of Sultan's messenger. Kubad was an orphan, grew up in a *Sufi* lodge until he was eight. Then brought to the Palace and got the standard education in Palace. When he was eighteen he graduated and assigned as a messenger who carry messages of Sultan within the country and to the foreign countries. According to the level of capabilities, the responsibilities distributed to graduates differ. Some of his cohorts attained ordinary positions such as janissary position in the provinces. Kubad's life was an example of the entry of the peasantry to the dominant class. In the Ottoman context, dominant class was open to upward mobility and supported by the state. The intensiveness and generality of this mobility was high because this is the continuous process of creating the dominant class.

The *Ulema* who constituted a group in the dominant class had rural origins during the seventeenth century as well. During the period, some portion of the excess population moved away from the land to the cities to get *medrese* (Muslim theological school) education in order to find a position in government. Rural *medreses* established by college endowments in Anatolian provinces (İnalcık, 1988). Before the seventeenth century, there had been *medreses* only in the great cities of the Empire such as Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa. Some portion of the *reaya* (peasantry) changed their status by obtaining education from the newly established

medreses, enabling them to join the *ilmiyye* class, which had high status in the social structure. The increase in *medreses* was an indicator of the high intensiveness and generality of this upward mobility. The members of the *ilmiyye* either lectured in *medreses* as professors or worked as *kadis* (judges). They were very privileged and exempt from taxation because they had been educated in the Islamic sciences (Inalcik, 1988). However, the children of the ulema could not inherit their fathers' status and wealth. Thus, the dominant class was open to intergenerational downward mobility.

The social mobility that allowed for movement from the peasantry to the highest strata and from highest strata to the lower echelons may well have affected the consumption patterns of the dominant class (members of the *ilmiyye* class, bureaucrats, *timar*-holding *sipahis*) and the lower classes where there was input from the dominant class. Although consumption on the part of the various social ranks was restricted by sumptuary laws, the strictness of the enforcement of these laws may have decreased during periods of social mobility, because individuals would have had a strong desire to communicate their belonging to a specific class by consuming and living a certain lifestyle. The decline in the strictness of the enforcement of these sumptuary laws allowed for a period in which a specific Ottoman consumer culture emerged.

In the European contexts, status and wealth transferred among the family lineage and thus, penetration to and from the dominant class was relatively much less. However, vertical social mobility occurred in the early modern western contexts as well. In early modern Europe, towns witnessed social mobility among the ranks of the social classes due to the increase in population and urbanization. These trends also facilitated the division of labor between the rural and urban areas

during the early modern era. The groups that experienced social mobility were workers who moved from rural areas to cities, newly rich merchants, and professionals. The labor market for the towns was supplied by a labor force from the rural areas. Poor peasants often came to towns and cities to obtain higher wages and freedom. For example, in London, Irish peasants were recruited as a labor force during the eighteenth century (Braudel, 1992b). In eighteenth century Paris, the Savoyards were hired as decorators, floor polishers, and sawyers, and the Lyonnais as porters and chair carriers. The poor in the Netherlands were migrants and vagabonds, unskilled seasonal farm workers, and artisans in low-paid industries (Schama, 1987). In addition to peasants, there were other newcomers to Paris during the eighteenth century: rich merchants, masters and craftsmen, mercenaries, ships' pilots, professors, doctors, engineers, architects, and painters. The Dutch middle-class consisted of skilled artisans, members of guilds, tenants, and petty professionals like notaries, apothecaries, and clerks in the seventeenth century (Schama, 1987).

The Early modern Europe witnessed emergence of the newly rich merchant class (McKendrick, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Roche, 2000; Schama, 1987). With the break down of ancient regime, newly rich merchant classes occurred between the aristocracy and peasantry. The newly rich displayed an example of upward group mobility. During medieval era, the tradesmen of the towns had not been a powerful group. However, with the rise of international trade, mercantilism, and absolute monarchies, merchants as a group showed an upward mobility and compete with the aristocracy. This competition established the basis for the explanation of the social order and consumer culture relation in scholarly work (Mukerji, 1983; Simmel [1904] 1957; Veblen [1899] 1994). Therefore, the relation between consumption and social identity formation was explained by top-down processes such as emulation

(Veblen [1899] 1994) or fashion, which depended on imitation of the aristocracy (Simmel [1904] 1957).

Social mobility was a strong driving force for an individual to seek and establish his/her identity, with the lower ranks emulating the lifestyles and consumption patterns of the upper classes to gain status in society (Veblen, [1899] 1994). For example, in eighteenth-century France, the lower classes consumed populuxe goods, cheap imitations of the luxury goods that were desired as symbols of the aristocratic lifestyle (Fairchilds, 1993). Fairchilds investigated the emulation of the upper classes of French society by the lower classes through the ownership of fine watches. Inexpensive Cheap watches almost disappeared from lower-class inventories over the course of the eighteenth century, while gold watches showed a spectacular rise. Moreover, not only did the lower classes raise their consumption aspirations, but the dream of ennoblement began to haunt the French merchant class (Roche, 2000).

Emulation among social ranks and class competition due to the rigidly stratified nature of English society were very prevalent and social competition became the driving force for the operation of the fashion system during the eighteenth century (McKendrick, 1982). N. Foster (1767) states that “In England the several ranks of men slide into each other almost imperceptibly...hence...the perpetual restless ambition in each of the inferior ranks to raise themselves to the level of those immediately above them. In such a state as this fashion must have uncontrolled sway. And a fashionable luxury must spread through it like a contagion” (in McKendrick, 1982, p.11). Not only fashionable luxury items, but leisure time activities that had been consumed primarily by the English aristocracy were emulated by the middle-classes in eighteenth-century England. For example,

market towns built subscription assembly rooms where not only the gentry but in some cases the public could attend as well (Plumb, 1992).

However, there were times when the newly rich gained power and changes in the patterns of consumption was observed. Mukerji's (1983) historical research suggests that although the common spread was from aristocracy to the middle-classes, who were composed of merchants, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England novel and exotic goods were made available by international trade, which reversed this process. Merchants were the individuals who first introduced these novel goods to the public, and when they obtained political and economic power they defined fashion by consuming the novel goods that they were trading. Thus, it was possible to see a trickle-up process in European society as well.

During the seventeenth century, wealthy Dutch merchants dealing with foreign trade formed a new class, and wealth elevated the social standing of the members of this class (Schama, 1987). They showed upward group mobility and became a powerful group. Schama argues that although differences in fortune, education, and social behavior separated ranks of the amorphous Dutch middle-class, their consumption patterns showed similarities within the middle-class. The wealthy Dutch merchants of the seventeenth century consumed luxury items such as tapestries, paintings, oriental ornaments, mirrors, porcelain, glassware, pottery, furniture, and maps (Schama, 1987).

Upward group mobility was also present in the Ottoman context. Janissaries entered the field of trade and used their political muscle to compete with the guilds on terms unfavorable to the latter (Kunt, 1983). The wages of the central army troops were constant during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Since, neither the government could increase military wages because of high inflation rates, nor

could it prevent riots by these troops, it allowed them to deal in extracurricular activities such as trading. The social position of the janissaries was ambiguous; they were included both in the ruling and the ruled classes. As members of the military, they were in the ruling class and exempt from taxes. However, by becoming members of the merchant class as well, the janissaries increased their economic capital. They now acquire status and wealth. Their consumption patterns could be expected to have changed. Janissaries were the ones who broke the norms and legislations on consumption such as consuming wine, coffee, narcotics, and entertainment. Similarly, Andrews and Kalpaklı (2005) state that during the period, elite in Istanbul were under fiscal pressure and the state could not meet their needs. Thus, the elite tried to attain revenues from trades. This trend blurred the usual class distinctions between merchants and non-merchants. The result of these trends was the changes in culture production in complex ways (Andrews and Kalpaklı, 2005) which in turn should create the complexities in class tastes.

Ottoman society showed a fluid social structure than the western counterparts with its penetrable dominant class and individual and group upward mobilities which were intensive, general, and supported by the state. Even during the early sixteenth century, slaves working in the silk industry under contract started their own businesses as soon as their obligations finished. This high social mobility – from de facto slave to entrepreneur – is another evidence of the dynamic social structure that existed (İnalçık, 1969).

The demographic, economic, political, cultural, and social transformations in the early modern Western context facilitated the origins of consumer culture, which can be identified with certain indicators, such as: the spread of consumer goods, the interest in acquisition of consumer goods, spread of luxury items, commercialization

of fashion items, and commercialization of leisure activities. Changes in ethical principles and practices, market institutions, state policies towards trade and consumption, social mobility and social structure were the factors that shaped the early modern consumer culture.

3.6 Period of Study

In this study, I analyze the Ottoman consumer culture from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century. Ottoman historians have identified this period as one of transformation (Faroghi, 1994; İnalçık, 1973; İnalçık, 1977; Kafadar, 1994). İnalçık (1973) identifies the period before the seventeenth century as the classical period. After the seventeenth century, the Ottoman context underwent changes in the demographic, economic, political, cultural, and social domains. Heretofore, studies on Ottoman consumption have focused on the eighteenth century, as the period of westernization when a consumer culture developed among the higher echelons of the Istanbul elite as they imported western consumption patterns (Faroghi, 2002; Orçan, 2004; Quataert 2000). However, I in fact, expected to see a change in the consumption patterns of Ottoman people during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at a time before the context underwent a change in the eighteenth century. In this chapter, I provide a description of the Ottoman context, relating it to the consumer culture of the society.

3.7 Focus of Study: Bursa

In order to arrive at a deeper understanding, I have focused on a specific place, the town of Bursa, to investigate the origins of consumer culture. It is evident that consumer culture has always been an urban phenomenon and Bursa had always been an urban center (Lowry, 2003). In addition, Bursa was dynamic in terms of manufacturing and trading activities (Lowry, 2003). It was a major center of silk trade and manufacturing and the last entrepot on the Silk Road, where an interchange of commodities from the East and the West took place (İnalçık, 1997). Therefore, a wide range of goods was available for the consumers. Bursa also was a populous city. Newcomers from abroad and rural parts of Anatolia, who had come to find jobs and to trade, were present. Thus, the demographic dynamism of the city would provide an excellent opportunity to explore the existence of different tastes and consumption patterns. Finally, as the first capital of the Ottoman Empire, Bursa had always been a cultural center, with important *medreses* and *Sufi* lodges. Therefore, it would also be possible to examine the influence of rival ideologies on consumption practices.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

In the methodology part of the study, I discuss my approach to historical method and delineate the data sources and analysis methods used in this study. In this research I have employed multiple data sources to be able to see the various aspects of consumer culture phenomena. As the nature of the sources is various, I have made use of multiple analysis techniques.

In the marketing field, historical methodology is typically employed to generalize theories and test hypotheses (Chandy and Tellis 2000; Golder 2000; Savitt 1980), to periodize (Belk 1994; Low and Fullerton 1994), to situate a marketing phenomenon in a macro context (Low and Fullerton 1994; Nevett 1991; Witkowski 1989), to understand the past either to make better decisions today (Golder 2000) or to illuminate the present (Belk 1987; Nevett 1991), or to generate theories (Holt, 2004). In this study, I examined whether the indicators of early modern consumer culture, which were determined by the historical research on the origins of consumer culture were actually present in the Ottoman context. Then, I developed a theory on the early modern Ottoman consumer culture regarding the particularities of the

context. Next, I generalized my findings and put forward the idea that there is a relation between the nature of the social structure and the processes of fashion and diffusion of goods throughout the society. In this study, I both generalized the origins of consumer culture to a non-western context and generated a theory as well.

While historical studies acknowledge that processes of change are complex, they tend to derive explanations by linear causal, cyclical, or dialectical relations (Fullerton 1987; Savitt 1980; Smith and Lux 1993). Instead of trying to find such linear, cyclic, or dialectic relations among the phenomena, I adopted the Foucaultian view, which argues that there are various types of relationships and modes of connection other than causality (Foucault, [1972]1998), and sees historical events as contingent, i.e., the emergence of an event was not a necessary but rather a possible result of complex relations between other events (Kendall and Wickham, 2003). I defined the demographic, social, economic, cultural and political contexts. However, I did not establish any linear causal relations between the changes in these domains and the Ottoman consumer culture.

I adopted a post-structuralist approach in this study. I examined three structures: social structure, institutional structure, and moral discourses. I aimed to investigate the deformations in these structures such as the changes in social structure, negotiations between institutions, and disparities between practices of individuals and ethical principles espoused by their society. To explore these deformations, I employed multiple data sources which provided information about the consumption patterns of people of different social strata, their everyday practices, the ideologies governing the consumer, objects, spaces, and institutions, and the operation of the institutions regarding the market. In the following section, I define the data sources which were employed in this study.

4.1 Data Sources

I used two types of historical data sources: primary data sources and secondary data sources. Primary data sources “involve the oral or written testimony of eyewitnesses” (Berg, 1998: 202). I utilized four types of primary data sources: governmental records, literary sources, visual data sources, and artifacts. I employed secondary data sources as well. Secondary data sources are “oral or written testimony of people not present at the time of a given event” (Berg, 1998: 202).

I used multiple data sources to increase the trustworthiness of the research. For example, to identify the items in probate records, I used the definitions of the clothing items in the price lists that were issued by the Ottoman state. Moreover, use of multiple data sources increased the validity of the research because I was able to study different sides of the consumer culture phenomenon. For example, I employed probate records, which are quantitative in nature, to see the spread of consumer goods throughout the population. In addition, poetry was used to understand the meanings attached to a certain item by the society. I also utilized data sources of different origins to increase the validity of the research. I did not stick to the opinion of one party, such as the elite, but rather examined opinions of different groups. For example *fetvas* – formal opinions of the religious authority - generally reflect the ideology of the Ottoman state, Sunni Islam. However European travelers’ accounts reflect the views of an outsider.

In the following section, I describe the nature of the data sources and their contribution to the research. In the analysis section, I define the ways these sources were utilized in the study.

4.1.1 Governmental Data Sources

I used five different governmental data sources: *tereke kayıtları* (probate inventories), *narh defteri* (the price book issued by the Ottoman state), *fetvalar* (formal opinions of the religious authority), *ihtisab kanunnamesi* (the code issued by the Ottoman state), and decrees issued by the Ottoman Sultan.

Probate inventories are lists of the possessions of a deceased individual recorded by a judge to distribute the inheritance among the heirs of the deceased. Probate inventories are included in the *Şer'iye* registers (judicial court registers), which were compiled in large cities of the Empire. These inventories were registered either with other judicial court records or in separate books known as *tereke defterleri* (probate books) (Özdeğer, 1988). Sometimes probate inventories for the *askeri* and *beledi* classes were registered separately. Probate inventories of the *askeri* class were recorded by the *kadiasker* (high-ranking official in the hierarchy of the Muslim judiciary), and probate inventories of ordinary people were recorded by the *kadı* (judge of Islamic law and governor of a city) (Barkan, 1968).

In this study, I used four probate books: two of them belonging to the *askeri* class and two of them belonging to the *beledi* class. They are housed in the archives of the National Library in Ankara. The identification of these probate inventories was very time-consuming, because probate records are not cataloged separately from

the *şer'iye* records (judicial court records). *Şer'iye* records are categorized according to the year and city. I examined one hundred and fifty microfilms of *şer'iye* registers that were recorded in Bursa during the period being studied. Among those registers, I identified four probate books belonging to the city of Bursa. Table 4.1 indicates the years covered by these probate books.

Probate records had a general fixed format. At the beginning the name and title of the deceased, his/her father's name and title, the name of the neighborhood in which s/he lived, the names and titles of the heirs, and the date of registry were recorded. Next, the deceased's properties (movable properties and estates) and their monetary values were listed. A list of debts and money owed was also recorded. Finally, the total amount of wealth was calculated, and certain expenses such as the cost of the funeral, the cost of the probate registry process, and taxes were deducted. The remaining amount was distributed among the heirs according to the Islamic law.

I employed probate records in two ways. First, probate records provided information on the economic capital of the *askeri* and *beledi* inhabitants of Bursa. Second, probate records were very informative in determining the consumption patterns of people belonging to different social groups. However, this data source has limitations as well. First, the elderly could have been overrepresented. Second, the poor were underrepresented because when the inheritance was small, heirs would not be willing to pay fees to the *kadı* and reduce the inheritance (Faroghi, 1999). However, I utilized other data sources to provide information on the poor like travelers' accounts, *surname* literature, and sultans' decrees. The sources include monetary values for each item and the total accumulated wealth of the deceased. I did not utilize the monetary values of items in the research because some of the items were recorded together and it was not possible to separate the monetary values for

each item. However, I utilized the total accumulated wealth calculated for every probate record in the analysis.

The second governmental data source was *narh* or *es'ar* records. *Narh* means the price that was determined by the state for the goods and services in the market (Kütükoğlu, 1983). *Narh* values were generally found in *şer'iy*e registers (judicial records) but in times of monetary devaluation, they were written in books. It is possible to find each and every item that existed in the market. I employed the *narh* book recorded in 1640. This *narh* book was transcribed and published by Mübahat Kütükoğlu (1983). It provided information on the goods present in the Ottoman market in the seventeenth century and details about them such as quality, country of origin, color, style, and size. I used *narh* records in delineating the features of various goods mentioned in other data sources.

Fetvas constituted the third governmental data source types. A *fetva* was an opinion given by the highest religious authority (*Şeyh'ül-İslam*), who was appointed by the state. *Fetvas* were recorded formally but did not have legal power (Düzdağ, 1998). They were not sanctions. The state could issue a decree by taking into consideration a *fetva*. I utilized *fetvas* to identify the dominant religious ideology of the state and the norms of the society.

The fourth governmental data source that was utilized in this research was *ihtisab kanunnamesi* (product and production standards code). The *Ihtisab* (office of the superintendent of guilds and markets) regulated the market and production according to the standards determined by the government. The official who oversaw prices, quality of the service or product, tax collection in the market, and application of sumptuary laws was called the *muhtesib*. I used an *ihtisab* code issued in the year 1502 for Bursa. The original code was written in the Ottoman script, and its

translation to contemporary Turkish was published by the Turkish Standards Institution in 2002. In it, I found information on the standards of production and products. The *iḥtisab kanunnamesi* provided information on deviations from the standards during the period, and the emergence of populux goods. I also examined the negotiations between the state and the guilds by using the *iḥtisab kanunnameleri*.

The fifth governmental data source consisted of the decrees issued by the Sultan which are found in the *mühimme defteri* in the governmental archives, which were transcribed by Ahmet Refik Altınay (1988) and Hikmet Turhan Dağlıoğlu (1940). These records were very useful in identifying the state's point of view and actions regarding the market and consumption. In addition, decrees were generally issued regarding the situations that arouse against the state's ideology. Therefore, it is possible to determine the actual practices of the Ottoman people and the state's reaction to these practices.

Governmental records thus provided information about the practices of the Ottoman individual, the ideology governing the Ottoman state, the ideologies resisting the governing ideology, the Ottoman state's activities as an institution, and its relations with guilds and consumers. However, governmental records were produced from the perspective of state authority. To obtain a full understanding of the Ottoman consumer culture, I also used other data sources such as literary sources.

4.1.2 Literary Data Sources

Literary sources are books and essays written during the period of study such as poetry (court and folk), travelers' writings, chronicles, books on morality, good-manner (etiquette) books, and *surname* literature.

Poetry provides information on the objects consumed by the Ottomans, the meanings attached to them, and the aesthetic and hedonic appeals of the Ottoman consumer. I used poems from two genres: *divan edebiyatı* (court literature) and *halk edebiyatı* (folk literature). Court literature had its origins in Persian literature and under the influence of Islamic culture (Timurtaş, 1993). Generally, it was the elite who produced court literature. Folk literature had its origins before the adaptation of Islam, generally was not found in written form, and was performed with musical appointment. Folk poems were generally produced by ordinary people (Timurtaş, 1993). *Tezkires* were something akin to bibliographies of famous poets. Court and folk poetry complemented each other because they represented the voices of both the elite and the common people. Poetry provided information on the goods present in the Ottoman context, the meanings given to them, and aesthetic and pleasure tastes of the elite and the ordinary people.

Travelers' accounts are another kind of literary data source. There were many European travelers who came to the Ottoman lands during the period. Travelers wrote manuscripts on the norms and culture of the Ottoman people, events that occurred, the practices of the Ottoman people, and descriptions of the city and city life, and of objects used in daily life. The accounts of European travelers provide an outsider's view. Evliya Çelebi was the only Turkish traveler of the period. He visited not only Anatolia, but also traveled to the east and the west. His

writings provided information on the city of Bursa, the guilds, the products in the markets, and shops, food, events that occurred, and the practices of the people. Evliya Çelebi's notes present an insider's view.

Chronicles include general information on social life, changes in the economic, social, and political domains, and the prevailing ethics of the time. I used the chronicles written by Katip Çelebi, Peçevi, and Koçi Bey to see the transformations in the dominant ideology. Books on ethics are also informative in terms of the morality of the period and social norms. Kınalızade Ali Efendi was a very famous and influential author of the sixteenth century. His work *Ahlak-ı Alai* provided information on the appropriate ways of consumption according to Sunni Islam. I compared the findings of ethics books with the probate records, good manner books, and travelers' accounts to see the extent of the disparity between ethical principles and actual practices.

Meva'idü'n-Nefais Fi-Kava'id-il Mecalis, which is a good manner book, was written in the sixteenth century and gives information about appropriate behavior according to social class. The author was an intellectual bureaucrat. He wrote about the behavior of the elite and the "abnormal" behavior of ordinary people. I employed this data source to identify the norms of society, the practices of the elite and the common people, their activities, and the objects consumed. I complemented and compared the information in this good manner book with the findings from probate records, decrees, and other governmental and literary sources.

Surname literature is another kind of literary source. It refers to circumcision ceremonies held for a Sultan's son. During the ceremonies various social groups paraded, and guild members performed plays about their occupations. These ceremonies were described in *surname* literature. I used the descriptions by both

Gelibolu’lu Mustafa Ali and İntizami of the ceremony held in 1582 (Korkmaz, 2004; Öztekin, 1996). Surname literature provided information about the production and products of the guilds, the practices of the population, and the relations between the customer and the shopper.

Thus, literary data sources were useful in terms of supplying information on the practices and aesthetic and pleasure tastes of the Ottoman population and of different classes, definitions of objects and meanings attached to them, events that took place during the period, and the discourses that existed. In addition to governmental and literary data sources, I used visual sources as well.

4.1.3 Visual Data Sources

I used basically two types of visual data sources: miniatures and pictures. Miniatures represent the insiders’ view and pictures represent outsiders’ view because miniatures were generally produced in the Ottoman court and pictures were made by European travelers. There was also a special kind of miniature genre composed of miniatures painted and sold for foreign travelers (And, 1993). The painters of these miniatures are called *çarşı ressamı*, which literally means market painters. These works were more informative than the miniatures drawn in the court in terms of depicting scenes from the everyday lives of ordinary people. However, court miniatures illustrated more detailed scenes than did *çarşı* miniatures. Miniatures provided information on scenes of everyday life, objects used, design of spaces and interpersonal relationships for both the elite and ordinary people. Pictures supplied scenes of cities and public places like bazaars. Information on public behavior,

gender relations, the roles of different social groups, and the appearance of objects of the period could be gathered from miniatures and engravings.

4.1.4 Historical Artifacts

These include the objects belonging to the period of study found in museums or special collections. I primarily used museum catalogs to provide visualization of objects mentioned in other data sources.

4.1.5 Secondary Data Sources

I use the term secondary data sources to refer to current historical research on the Ottoman context. I utilized the findings of these studies and sometimes reinterpreted their data or findings in terms of my objectives in this study.

4.2 Data Analysis

I employed two types of analysis in this research: quantitative and qualitative. They complement each other in examining the Ottoman consumer cultures of the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. I conducted quantitative analysis of the probate inventories to see if there was a general change in consumption patterns between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. After identifying the

general picture, I used qualitative analysis to understand the practices of different social classes, and their deviation from the norms. In addition, qualitative analysis illustrated the relations of the institutions among each other and with the consumer.

4.2.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

I conducted a quantitative data analysis of the probate inventories because my aim was to determine the general consumption patterns among the Bursian people. In addition, the probate records were numerical in nature and allowed me to conduct a statistical analysis.

I started the analysis of the probate records by transcribing them. After obtaining four probate books, which were written in the Ottoman script, from the archives of the National Library, I transcribed them from the Ottoman script to the current Turkish alphabet in Latin script. During the transcription process, I came across many objects that are unknown today, but were used during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the period, the Turkish language was heavily influenced by the Arabic and Persian languages. Therefore, Arabic or Persian synonyms were sometimes used to denote the same objects or concepts. For example, the word for the color red has many alternatives, including *ahmer*, *al*, and *kırmızı*. In addition, different shades had different names, such as *güvez* for dark red and *ıskarlat* for light brilliant red. To accurately grasp the differences in meaning, I utilized various dictionaries. Over the six hundred years, the meanings of words have changed as well. Therefore, to be able to understand the exact meaning of the words, I encountered, I referred specifically to dictionaries that provide examples

from historical sources. In addition, I referred to current historical research on the measures and currencies of the period.

I transcribed the probate inventories in each probate book from in the order they were recorded. However, I skipped the ones that were damaged, did not include lists of goods belonged to non-Muslim inhabitants. For the mid-sixteenth century, I did not come across any records of non-Muslim deceased persons. For the mid-seventeenth century, there were a few probate inventories belonging to non-Muslim people, but I did not include them in my analysis because they did not represent the whole population of non-Muslims. Churches and synagogues were infact responsible for distributing the inheritances of their communities. However, the taxes paid to the *kadı* were generally lower than the ones paid to synagogues and churches. Therefore, non-Muslims sometimes applied to the *kadı* to distribute their inheritances as well (Özdeğer, 1988).

I transcribed three hundred and sixty-four probate inventory records from Ottoman script. Then I grouped the probate inventories according to gender (male - female), social class (*askeri* - *beledi*), and period (mid-sixteenth century – mid-seventeenth century). Table 4.2 shows the number of probate records analyzed in each period, for each class, and for each gender. After the transcription, I categorized the list of items in each probate inventory. Clothing, accessories and jewelry, home furnishings and linens, kitchen utensils, leisure objects, real estates, business related materials, slaves, books, and money were the categories developed. In this study, I focused on the categories of clothing, home furnishings and home textiles, and leisure objects.

4.2.1.1 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

I conducted an analysis of variance test to see if there was any impact of class, gender, and period on wealth. This is an important criterion in the identification of the impact of social class on the total accumulated wealth of the deceased. I made a comparison of the respective levels of economic capital of the two social classes.

Before going into the details of the data analysis, I should mention that the monetary values in the data were generally given in *akçe* (an Ottoman currency). However, there were also other currencies, such as *eşrefi altın*, *misri altın*, *riyal gruş*, *esedi gruş* and *florin*. I have used the exchange rates given in Pamuk (1999) to calculate the *akçe* values if the exchange rate was not mentioned in the record. I checked the exchange rates given in Pamuk (1999) against the ones available in the probate records. They are exactly the same in each and every case.

To be able to make a sound comparison of the accumulated wealth values of the mid-sixteenth and mid- seventeenth centuries, the effect of inflation must be taken into consideration. I computed mid-seventeenth century values in terms of the mid-sixteenth century. I used the Consumer Price Indices (CPI) calculated by Şevket Pamuk (2004). Table 4.3 presents the years for which the probate data were examined and their relative CPI values. I have calculated weighted average of CPI's for the periods during which my data were recorded.

$$\text{Weighted Average CPI for the first period} = (1.64 \times 3 + 1.86 \times 2) / 5 = 1.728$$

$$\text{Weighted Average CPI for the second period} = (4.37 \times 4 + 4.92 \times 6) / 10 = 4.7$$

To be able to calculate the monetary values of the mid-seventeenth century in terms of the mid-sixteenth century, I multiplied the monetary values of the mid-seventeenth

century by the ratio of the weighted averages of the CPI for the first period to the second period.

After converting the mid-seventeenth century monetary values to their mid-sixteenth century equivalents, I conducted an ANOVA test to compare the impact of gender (men - women), social class (*askeri* - *beledi*), and period (mid-sixteenth – mid-seventeenth centuries) on total accumulated wealth values in *akçe* terms using SPSS version 11. However, the wealth data violated the normality assumption, which was measured by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, and the homogeneity of variances assumption, which was measured by Levene's Test. Therefore, I transformed the wealth values by taking the natural logarithm of the data. I chose the log transformation because the distribution of the wealth data skews left and makes a peak. This type of transformation has been used by scholars working with probate records (see Shamma, 1990). Log (wealth) values obeyed both the normality and homogeneity of variances assumptions. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used to measure normality of the log (wealth) data (see Table 4.4). Levene's Test of equality of error variances was used to test the homogeneity of variances assumption. The results show that log (wealth) values obey the assumption (see Table 4.5).

4.2.1.2 Non-parametric tests

Non-parametric statistics was applicable to my data because I used categorical data. I used two types of non-parametric analysis: Chi-square tests and Mann-Whitney U tests. I chose to conduct a parametric analysis using monetary values. However,

some items were recorded together in the data, and it was impossible to determine their specific monetary values.

First, I conducted chi-square tests to compare the number of people who acquired a specific item between the two groups. The relation between two categorical variables (acquisition and group) was analyzed. A significant increase in the number of people who possessed a certain item between the two periods indicated that the item spread throughout the population within a century.

Second, I examined whether the consumption of consumer goods spread in society. To be able to see the proliferation of consumption, I conducted period comparisons for each class. If an item diffused only throughout the *askeri* class, this meant that the item diffused to the high status class. However, the concept of democratization involves spread throughout the lower classes. Therefore, I conducted chi-square tests separately for the *askeri* and *beledi* classes to see if there was a significant change between the two periods in the number of people who belonged to a specific class and possessed a certain item.

I also investigated the process of diffusion of novel goods, i.e., fashion goods. I determined novel goods as ones which no one acquired in the first period but that some possessed in the second period. I conducted chi-square comparisons between the number of *askeri* and *beledi* individuals who possessed a particular novel item in the second period. A statistically significant difference indicated that there was either a trickle-up or a trickle-down process. If there was no significant difference between the classes, this meant that there was a trickle-across process in terms of the diffusion of fashion items.

In addition, I conducted chi-square analysis for goods other than novelties. I aimed to see if there was a difference in the popularity of various goods between the

two classes in the same period. I compared the number of *askeri* and *beledi* people who possessed a certain item in a certain period. A statistically significant difference showed that the item was popular among one of the groups more than the other.

Chi-square analyses had two by two designs. The variables for the chi-square tests had two categories (possession and group). The first variable was possession. Those who possessed a specific item were identified by a “1,” while others who did not have the item were identified by a “0.” The second variable was the group number. I compared two groups (either the *askeri* and *beledi* classes or the earlier and later periods). For two-by-two designs, the SPSS manual advises one to use the “Yates’ Correction for Continuity” value, which compensates for the overestimate of the Pearson Chi-Square value (Pallant, 2005). Therefore, throughout the text and tables the chi-square values are the Yates’ Correction for Continuity values.

The second non-parametric test was the Mann-Whitney U test. My aim was to determine if there was a change in the interest in acquisition of goods between the two periods or among the classes. For each probate record, I determined how many there were of a particular item listed in the inventory. Then, I used the Mann-Whitney U Test to make group comparisons. I utilized the Mann-Whitney U test because the number of units of a certain item is a continuous variable and the group variable is categorical. This method first calculates ranks for the values of the continuous variable and then compares the medians. The advantage of the method is that the actual distribution of the scores does not matter (Pallant, 2005).

I conducted the Mann-Whitney U Test to determine whether the number of units of a certain item possessed per person showed a significant difference between the two periods. A significant increase between the first period and the second meant that people were more interested in acquiring that specific item. In addition, to be

able to see if the interest in acquisition of goods was specific to a class or not, I compared the number of item possessed per person between the two periods for each class.

4.2.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

I conducted a narrative analysis of the literary data sources. When interpreting the narrative, I looked at information about the author – his/her age, ethnicity, religion, nationality, social status, and occupation - and the conditions under which the text was produced. For example, Gelibolu’lu Mustafa Ali wrote a good manner book in the sixteenth century. He was a high-level bureaucrat and an intellectual in the Ottoman court (Şeker, 1997), who was ordered by the Sultan to write a good-manner book. When interpreting this data source, I regarded the data as the voice of the state and the elite circle of which Gelibolu’lu was a member. Moreover, I looked at the judgments he made about the practices of consumers. He wrote positively about the practices of people in his own social class and criticized members of other social classes. In this way, information on the practices of different social classes and the meanings given to them in the society was obtained.

I used two types of analysis: content analysis and discourse analysis. In the content analysis, I coded the data by using the categories I used in the probate analysis (social class, clothing, accessories and jewelry, home furnishings, kitchenware, and leisure goods). After the coding process, I juxtaposed and compared the data from different sources for each category. In addition, I found three themes during the analysis: a fluid social structure, a prevalence of negotiations

among institutions regarding the market, and a disparity between ethical principles and actual practices.

I also utilized discourse analysis (Kendall and Wickham 2003). During the analysis, I realized that there were disputes regarding coffee and coffeehouse consumption in particular. Therefore, I decided to conduct a discourse analysis on coffee and coffeehouse consumption.

After collecting the data, I identified the archive by studying the relations between words and things in the text (see Table 4.6 for the list of words and things). Words and things form the statements, which form the discourses. I examined the repetitions both within and among the texts.

Then I explored how statements, which were formed by both words and things, produced the ways of beings such as that of the coffee consumer, ways of acting such as leisure time consumption, spaces like coffeehouses, and institutions such as the coffeehouses guilds, and the state. I identified struggling discourses in the context of coffee as Sunni Islam, mystic Islam, pleasure, and health. I studied the coffee context to find a discontinuity in the governing discourse. I found that during the mid-seventeenth century there was a transformation in the operation of the institution of the state institution. Instead of Sunni Islam, economics started to govern the state.

I employed visual data in my analysis as well. I compared miniatures and pictures depicting the same context to provide the insiders and outsiders view concerning the same context. I looked at the proxemics, which means the use of space in terms of spatial relationships among people and more generally according to the social context (Collier and Collier, 1996). In addition, I examined the kinesics:

“the postures, gestures, the non-verbal character of individuals and groups” (Collier and Collier, 1996: 77).

4.3 Limitations of the Methodology

The methodology of this study has certain limitations. For the quantitative analysis, a larger sample size might provide more representative results. Some *beledi* class records remained from Ottoman period. However, the possibility of finding additional *askeri* and *beledi* probate books that were both recorded at the same period of time is very low. Secondly, sources used in historical studies such as diaries, letters, or novels that represented the everyday life and practices of consumers were nonexistent in the Ottomans. However, I utilized travelers’ accounts and governmental records such as decrees to find information on everyday life and practices. However, aside from these limitations, the methodology used in this research was one of its strengths, in that I utilized multiple data sources and multiple analysis techniques to obtain a full understanding of consumer culture phenomena in the Ottoman context.

CHAPTER V

CONSUMPTION OF CLOTHING

Many sixteenth and seventeenth century European travelers were amazed by the interest of Ottoman people in clothing (Carim, 1996; Dernschwam, 1992; Della Valle in Gürtuna, 1999; Schweigger, 2004; Thevenot, 1978). Hans Dernschwam (1992), who visited Ottoman lands between 1553 and 1555, noted that when Turks acquired some money, they spent it on clothing. The enormous number and variety of types of clothing and textiles were recorded in the price lists issued by the state in 1640. There were eighteen different types of fabrics present, and each of them had varieties in terms of quality, origin of production, design, and color. Analysis of the probate records showed that Bursian men and women wore twenty-five and twenty-one different clothing items respectively. Before examining the place of clothing in the development of Ottoman consumer culture, I will describe the Ottoman clothing style in general.

Salomon Schweigger (2004) was a Protestant priest who traveled in Ottoman lands between 1577 and 1581 in the company of Joachim Freiherr von Sintzendorff,

the current official representative of the Holy Roman Empire. He drew the dressing of Ottoman women in every detail, from underwear to outer upper gowns.

Figure 5.1 is Schweigger's illustration. The figure contains depictions of three women, which are marked with the letters "A," "B," and "C". "A" depicts underpants (*don*) made of transparent, thin fabric. "B" depicts a shirt (*gönlek*), worn over the *don*. The *Gönlek* reaches to the knees and is made of thin silk fabrics, in a variety of colors. "C" illustrates a short jacket worn over the shirt. It seems that these women wore an *arakiye* on their heads and fastened it with a wrap called *kaşbastı*, *çenber*, or *çeşmbend*.

Sometimes women wore a *zıbun*, which was a cotton short shirt worn between the thin shirt and the jacket. Figure 5.2, which dates back to the sixteenth century, depicts five women, probably living in the Ottoman palace (And, 1993; Gürtuna, 1999). Their colored upper gowns (*kaftanlar*) and belts (*kuşaklar*), white shirts (*gönlekler*), white underpants (*donlar*) and red trousers (*şalvarlar*) are typical styles. Some of these women wear elevated wooden sandals (*nalinler*) and some of them slippers (*terlikler*). They have colored headdresses (*arakiyeler*) and white, red, or blue colored (*kaşbastı*) to fasten the headdresses. When Ottoman women went out, they wore large cloaks (*ferace*) and covered their faces and upper part of their body with a cloth (*yaşmak*). In Figure 5.3, an engraving of an Ottoman woman shows her wearing a *dolama*, an alternative to a *ferace*. The sleeves of the *dolama* are short, reaching only to the elbows, unlike the long, tight sleeves of the *ferace* (Carım, 1996). Nicolas de Nicolay, who visited Ottoman lands during 1551 as part of the delegation of the French ambassador Gabriel d'Aramon, engraved the picture in Figure 5.3 (And, 1993). The woman is wearing a pink *dolama* with a yellow lining, and has on a dark red robe under the *dolama*.

Like many European travelers, Pedro (a Spanish captive who lived in Istanbul from 1552 to 1555) noted that, contrary to European practice, Ottoman men and women wore similar clothing (Carim, 1996). According to his observation, the only difference was the headwear. Figure 5.4 from an album in the Topkapı Palace museum that dates back to seventeenth century, illustrates the costume of a young wealthy Ottoman man in the seventeenth century (And, 2004). *Vezir* Kalender Paşa ordered court artists to draw this album of miniatures, which show common people and scenes from everyday life. The young man in Figure 5.4 has on a light brown *kaftan* and a blue *kuşak* where a knife and a *hançer* (short curved dagger) are placed. He wears red *şalvar* (trousers) under his *kaftan* and a red *ferace* over his shoulders. On his head, he has a white turban with red flowers attached. Attaching flowers on turbans was fashion during the period.

Aşık Çelebi, a sixteenth century poet, described in his *tezkiye* (contains biographies of poets) book called “*Meşâ’irü’ş - Şuara*”, a famous poet Celili who was from Bursa. Celili was known to attach a bunch of flowers on his turban (Kılıç, 1994). Similar type of flower consumption is seen from a miniature drawn in the sixteenth or seventeenth century representing a coffeehouse where all the customers have attached carnations and tulips on their turbans (see Figure 7.3). During the period, flowers as an accessory constituted men’s fashion.

Also, headwear and clothing symbolized occupation and status. For example, men whose family lineage went back to the Prophet wore green robes and turbans (And, 2004; Şeker, 1997). Men who worked in various positions in the state apparatus had various “uniforms” (Busbecq, 2004; Dernshwam, 1992; Schweigger, 2004). While there were indeed some similarities in male and female clothing, male clothing was specified by occupation, unlike female clothing, which the wearer was

free to choose. Therefore, in this study I have placed more emphasis on women's costume than on the men's, because it shows more clearly the effect of consumer choice. Although interesting non-occupational differences in men's costumes are also pointed out.

5.1 Spread of Clothing Items throughout Ottoman Society

There were more people using certain items in the seventeenth century compared to the sixteenth century. That is, there was more spread in the seventeenth century. Table 5.1 shows the percentages of people who possessed a certain item in the first period (P1) and in the second period (P2). The chi-square values (Yeats' Correction for continuity values) and significance levels are presented as well. Among the twenty-one different women's dress, the use of thirteen of them was spread throughout the population in the mid-seventeenth century. These thirteen items were headwear and hair accessories (*çenber*, *arakiye*, *saçbağı*), underwear (*don* and *gönlek*, *zibun*), trousers (*çintıyan*, *çakşır*), robes (*kaftan*, *cellayi*, *entari*), cloaks (*kürdiye*, and *kapama*), and belts (*kuşak*). Men's costumes comprised twenty-five items, and the use of twelve of them – underwear (*don* and *gönlek*, *zibun*, *yelek*), trousers (*çintıyan*, *çakşır*), robes (*sade*, *dolama*), cloaks (*kürdiye*, *yapınca*, *çuka*, *kapama*), and belts (*kuşak*, *uçkur*) – was spread throughout the male population.

The spread of clothing items may not in itself be enough to indicate the democratization of consumption because the spread may only be through the upper classes as well. Democratization means that not only the upper but also the lower classes started to enjoy greater acquisition of goods (McKendrick et al, 1982).

Therefore, I also examined the spread of particular clothing items in the *askeri* and *beledi* classes. I compared the number of people who possessed a certain item between the two periods, separately for each social class,. The results of the chi-square comparisons are given in Table 5.2. The items that showed significant difference are discussed below.

Çenber (headwear), *kaftan*, and *cellayi* (robes) were the women's garments that were spread throughout the *askeri* class. The number of *askeri* women who possessed these three items showed a statistically significant increase in the mid-seventeenth century compared to the previous period. Possession of *kapama* (outerwear) and *çakşır* (pants) was spread out the *beledi* women in the second period. The short version of *çakşır*, *diz çakşırı*, was in fact consumed only by *beledi* women. *Arakiye* (headwear), *saçbağı* (hair accessory), *don*, *gönlek*, *zıbun* (underwear), *çintiyan* (pants), *entari* (robe), *kürdiye* (outerwear), and *kuşak* (belt) were items that were possessed by both to *askeri* and *beledi* class women. The findings show that consumption of clothing items was democratized among the Bursian people because the use of a number of items spread not only throughout the high status group but the low status group as well.

I want to note the case of the *kaftan* (robe) as an example of the trickle-up process. In the first period, sixty-eight percent of the *beledi* class women already possessed at least a *kaftan*. The number of *askeri* women who possessed *kaftan/s* was very low (five percent) compared to their *beledi* counterparts, because *askeri* class women consumed alternatives to the *kaftan*, such as the *came* or *sade*. However, the number of *askeri* class women possessing a *kaftan* showed a statistically significant increase between the two periods (see Table 5.2). In the mid-seventeenth century, sixty-eight percent of the *askeri* women possessed a *kaftan*.

That is, the *kaftan* was popular among the *beledi* women in the first period and became popular among the *askeri* women in the second period. Thus, the *kaftan* provides an example of the trickle-up process. It was only popular among the *beledi* class during the mid-sixteenth century and became popular among the *askeri* class in the next period.

I conducted a similar analysis for the entire category of robes (including the *sade*, *kaftan*, *cellayi*, and *entari*). My findings show that the prevalence of robes increased significantly in the second period among the *askeri* women (and was in fact one hundred percent in the mid-seventeenth century). *Askeri* women both acquired both *kaftans* and new styles of robes, such as the *cellayi* and *entari*, in the mid-seventeenth century.

The *ukur* (kind of belt), *intiyen* (pants), and *uka* (outerwear) were the men's garments that were spread throughout the *askeri* class. The number of *askeri* men who possessed these three items showed a statistically significant increase in the second period compared to the first period. Outerwear (*kapama*, *kürdiye*, *yapınca*), underwear (*don* and *gönlek*, *zıibun*), pants (*akşır*), robes (*sade*, *dolama*), and belts (*kuşak*) were widespread among *askeri* and *beledi* class men. The results show that certain clothing items were prevalent among the male inhabitants of Bursa, despite the occupational restrictions pertaining to men's outfits.

To sum up, during the seventeenth century relatively more women and men in Bursa consume clothing items. The diffusion of garments was not only restricted to the high status and wealthier group of people but lower echelons started to consume as well. This shows that the first indicator of consumer culture, i.e., the spread of goods is observed for the category of clothing.

5.2 Interest of the Ottoman Individual in the Acquisition of Clothing

The spread of goods throughout the population displays the general diffusion throughout the society. However, at the individual level, the increase in the number of a certain clothing item possessed per person shows the extent of the increase in the interest in acquisition of clothing. I have conducted Mann Whitney U tests to compare the groups belonging to different social classes – *askeri* and *beledi* – and time periods – mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries.

Interest in acquiring garments increased between the two periods for Bursian women and men. Headwear (*çenber*, *arakiye*), underwear (*don* and *gönlek*, *zibun*), robe (*kaftan*), outerwear (*kapama*), and belt (*kuşak*) were the items of which possession per woman increased between the two periods (see Table 5.3). The number of *çenbers* and *kaftans* per *askeri* woman showed a statistically significant increase during the internal of a century. Headwear (*arakiye*), underwear (*don* and *gönlek*, *zibun*), outerwear (*kapama*), and belt (*kuşak*) were the items of which their possession per woman increased between the two periods for both classes. Thus, the interest in acquiring particular garments increased for not only the ruling but the ruled class as well (see Table 5.4).

The number of *kaftans* possessed per *beledi* woman was constant between the two periods. However, as the variety among robes increased, the number of robes possessed per woman showed statistically significant increase (see Table 5.4). This shows that both *askeri* and *beledi* women in Bursa had more robes in their chests in the mid-seventeenth century. Thus, interest in acquisition of robes democratized among the women of Bursa.

Headwear (*dülbend, kavuk*), underwear (*don* and *gönlek, zıbun*), pants (*çakşır*), robes (*kaftan, sade, dolama*), outerwear (*kapama, çuka*), and belts (*kuşak uçkur*) were the items of which acquisition per man increased between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries (see Table 5.5 for Mann Whitney U comparisons). The number of under garments (*zıbun*), robes (*kaftan, sade, dolama*), and outer garments (*kapama, çuka*) per man showed statistically significant increases between the two periods for the *askeri* class. The remaining clothing items showed statistically significant increases between the two periods for both classes (see Table 5.6). Thus, for men and women, the interest in acquisition of clothing became widespread for clothing items.

Briefly, male and female inhabitants of Bursa started to show interest in acquiring more and more clothing items. These individuals did not belong to merely highest echelons but lower groups started to accumulate above the subsistence level.

5.3 Spread of Luxury Clothing

In this part of the study, I explore what was considered luxury in terms of clothing in Ottoman society. Then, I show that luxury and populuxe goods spread throughout both of the classes. The spread of luxury goods throughout the lower classes indicates democratization of luxury or populuxe goods in the society. This democratization came about through consumers' circumvention of the sumptuary laws and religious and social norms and through negotiations among the market institutions. The fluidity of the social structure was the driving force behind this

process of democratization. Schweigger (2004: 201) remarked on Ottoman women's interest in luxury clothing as follows:

Women earn their living by the wages or salaries of their husbands and they spend this money extravagantly for display. In particular they pay attention to their clothing. Other than the very poor, it is not possible to find a woman who does not possess silk clothing.

Schweigger's (2004) observation shows the democratization of luxury dresses in Ottoman society. In addition to Schweigger, sixteenth century Ottoman sources provided information on the appropriateness of dresses made of precious fabrics for various social classes. During the sixteenth century, *Şeyh'ül-islam* Ebussud, the official religious authority, gave *fetvas* – formal written opinions (İnalçık, 1997) – on the canonical unlawfulness of luxurious silk fabrics for certain classes (Düzdağ, 1998). Moreover, Gelibolu'lu Mustafa Ali, a bureaucrat in the Ottoman administration discussed appropriate ways of dressing according to social class (Şeker, 1997). I compared these clothing norms with my findings from probate inventories. Probate inventories recorded during the sixteenth century show that the discourse on appropriate clothing governed the practices of Bursian people. However, within a century, the practices of the Bursian people conflicted with the dominant discourse expressed in the *fetvas* and the above-mentioned etiquette. Below, I give examples of the disparities between the discourse on clothing norms and the practices.

Şeyh'ül-islam Ebussud gave a *fetva* on the illegitimacy of *kuşaks*, which were woven of pure silk thread (*ibrişim*) or gold or silver threads, even for high officials (Düzdağ, 1998). The probate records of the Bursian people show that people in Bursa obeyed the religious rules and norms during the sixteenth century. Nobody in Bursa possessed such a type of luxurious *kuşak* in the sixteenth century. Though

Ottoman people were highly interested in clothing and fabrics, they obeyed the Sunni rule of modesty during the period. A century later, according to the probate data, sixty-four percent of the *askeri* class and forty-six percent of the *beledi* class women possessed *kuşaks* woven of silver threads. Furthermore, some *askeri* class women had acquired *kuşaks* ornamented of more precious materials, such as gold or jewel ornaments. For example, Fatıma, the daughter of Mehmed Çelebi, had two *kuşaks*; one was made of silver and the other was ornamented with precious stones. Fatıma was very wealthy – 140.037 *akçes* – and belonged to an elite class, which is evident from the *çelebi* titles of her father and husband. *Çelebi* means well-educated, well-bred, and a gentleman (Pakalın, 2004). This extravagance showed itself among middle-class *beledi* women as well. Ümmügülsüm, daughter of İsmail, was woman who lived in Bursa during the same period as a member of the *beledi* class and possessed a silver *kuşak*. Her total wealth was approximately a twenty-second of Fatıma's, and so she owned a cheaper version of the extravagant *kuşaks* so popular among Bursian women during the period. A similar behavior – that is, disregarding the governing norms – was observed for clothing made of precious fabrics as well.

One source on the norms for fabrics was the good manner book written by Gelibolu'lu Mustafa Ali (Şeker, 1997). Gelibolu'lu Ali specified appropriate fabrics for four social classes. These four classes were: (1) sultans and their sons; (2) vezirs, beys, and high-level bureaucrats; (3) *askeri* class members excluded from the second group; and (4) peasantry, merchants, and artisans. The first group should wear extravagant garments made of fabrics like *şib*, *diba*, precious cloth woven of gold and silver threads, precious velvets, and silks. The second group was to wear clothing made of less expensive fabrics like *atlas*, *kemha*, and *engelyun*. Members of the third group could use fabrics that were appropriate for the second group, but were

woven using a lesser number of threads. Ali did not mention the fabrics for the fourth group. I compared Ali's norms to the findings from probate records. First, I matched the *askeri* and *beledi* classes with Ali's classes. When Ali's classes and the social groups covered in the probate records were matched, the *askeri* class consisted of Ali's second and third groups. The *beledi* class consists of Ali's fourth group, excluding the peasantry.

However, the practice indicated by the probate data did not match these norms in the seventeenth century. None of the probate inventories of the sixteenth century recorded precious types of cloth like *şib* or *diba* that were appropriate only for the Sultans and their sons. In the second period there was a trickle-down effect in the consumption of precious fabrics like *şib* and *diba* (ten out of ninety-four *askeri* class members acquired them). In Gelibolu'lu Ali's notes, velvet, *atlas*, and *kemha* were regarded as precious fabrics appropriate for the first and second groups. Yet, in the first period, thirteen percent of *askeri* men and thirty-five percent of *askeri* women and five percent of *beledi* men and twenty-four percent of *beledi* women had garments made of these three fabrics. Furthermore, in the next century, the number of *askeri* and *the beledi class* members who consumed these three fabrics increased (forty-four and sixty-two percent of *askeri* men and women and ten and thirty-nine percent of *beledi* men and women respectively). Thus, we see that despite the norms, luxury materials spread to both the *askeri* and *beledi* population between the two periods in Bursa. This shows that more people in Bursa disregarded the rules on appropriate consumption in the mid-seventeenth century relative to the previous century. The enormous number of precious garments and their less expensive versions is another indicator of the spread of luxury consumption.

Previous literature states the presence of cheap copies of aristocratic luxury items, i.e, populuxe goods, throughout the lower classes can be considered an evidence of the possession of consumer goods (Fairchilds, 1993; Roche, 2000). In 1640, the Ottoman state issued a list of prices of goods present in the Ottoman market (Kütükoğlu, 1983). As mentioned in the above examplei Ali listed three precious silk fabrics: velvet, *atlas*, and *kemha*. There were a total of nineteen specific items on the list that were about these three fabrics, and these items were categorized according to their origins, colors, and qualities (low, medium, and high). The enormous variety extant for each fabric not only shows the importance of cloth and clothing as consumer items in the Ottoman context, but also is evidence of the presence of populuxe goods.

The Ottoman state and the guilds played a role in the spread of populuxe consumption of textile items. The Ottoman state intervened in the market by standardizing production and quality, determining prices, and preventing competition among producers. During 1502, the Ottoman state issued *Kanunname-i ihtisab-ı Bursa*, a code regulating guilds and manufacturing standards (TSE, 2002). Most of the items manufactured by guilds had deviated from the previously set original standards. During the period, the quality of *gülistani kemha*, a kind of silk brocade with floral motifs, had been lowered. The governmental code (TSE, 2002) stated that:

Previously, seven thousand threads were twisted to form the weft and one thousand hundred and fifty threads were twisted to form the warp of *gülistani kemha*. For the last twenty-five years, some producers have reduced this to one thousand threads. However, this does not harm Muslims because there is always a need for the cheaper kind. This situation was taken into consideration, no change was made, but the matter was recorded

This statement shows that in certain instances, the state negotiated with guilds to meet the demand for populuxe goods and supported the consumption and spread of such goods throughout society.

Another evidence of the state relaxing its rules to allow populuxe goods is the fact that new workshops emerged out of the guild structure and produced populuxe textiles due to an increase in the demand for cheaper textiles in Bursa during the sixteenth century. The government negotiated with these new shops and opened the way for the consumption of populuxe textiles. These were novel fabrics, which did not obey the quality standards of the *hisba* (an institution established to regulate the production and sale of products, and enforce the sumptuary laws) regulations (İnalçık, 1969). The established masters of the guild for the Bursa silk manufacturing industry fought bitterly against the newly trained workmen who opened new shops. The old masters tried to convince the government to act against the new workshops, alleging that the upstarts were lowering the quality of the guild's wares, disturbing the functioning of the market, and so exposing the populace to loss. Nevertheless, the new masters who had opened new workshops in the outlying quarters without the guild's license banded together, elected a council of management, and set up a new guild. In spite of the opposition of the original guild, the new masters were often able to persuade the authorities to grant them recognition. The relation between the state and the new masters was an example of the Ottoman state negotiating with guilds. Such negotiation opened the way for the Ottoman consumer to consume populuxe goods.

Production of populuxe goods can also be considered as deviation from traditional standards. Seventeenth century judicial records from Bursa provide an

example of deviation from traditional standards in the area of *kılabdan* production. *Kılabdancı*s, the guild of winders of gold thread on silk, argued that some producers had recently lowered the quality of *kılabdan* and harmed the business in general. Thus, they decided to set a new production standard that all members would agree on. This new standard was different from the old one (Gerber, 1988). Gerber (1988) thus, argued that production standards were not handed down by the government. Guilds had the authority to employ the standards to prevent competition within the guild. In addition, the demand in the market for lower quality goods was satisfied.

Although, the guilds had the authority to set the standards, they could not control the quality standards of all production. Bursa judicial records show that during the seventeenth century, a fabric made of very cheap raw materials was produced. Not only members of the guild concerned, but a large group of other textile manufacturers were also strongly opposed to this product. They defined the product as *bid'at*, “an illegal innovation according to Islamic law” (Gerber, 1988: 70). A general trend in the period is that guild members lowered the costs and the quality of the products to increase profit margins. They invented new production techniques and new products to meet the existing demand by offering goods with affordable prices. Thus, in Ottoman society, guilds helped increase the consumption and spread of populuxe goods and innovations. Innovations do indicate not only the emergence of populuxe goods but of fashion as well.

Examples from travelers' accounts, *fetvas*, good manner books, ihtisab codes, and judicial records show that state and guilds negotiated over the production of novel and populuxe goods, and guilds sometimes even disregarded the established ethical standards to maximize their profits.

In this part of the study, first, I delineate what constituted luxury clothing, the spread in luxury clothing and the impact of ethical and institutional structure on the luxury clothing consumption. Clothing made of luxury fabrics such as the ones made of silk, embroidered, gold and silver threaded, and ornamented by precious stones. Luxury items spread throughout the middle ranks in the seventeenth century. Inhabitanats of Bursa thwarted the established norms on luxury consumption that define the traditional social order. Moreover, textile producers continuously negotiated with the state concerning the manufacture of low quality, less expensive versions of luxury material. Luxury material and cheaper versions became available to the populace.

5.4 Commercialization of Clothing Fashion

I identified innovations and goods that went in and out of fashion. In addition, in order to see the movement of fashion, I focused on the consumption of fashion items across the social classes. I also studied the influence of institutional structure on the spread of fashion consumption.

5.4.1 In-and-Out of Fashion

Probate records show that the inhabitants of Bursa people consumed certain types of clothing, which were innovations during the period of study. I consider them

innovations because these items were not present in the mid-sixteenth century probate inventories, but appeared in the mid-seventeenth century records. At the same time, some clothing items, which were very popular during the mid-sixteenth century, disappeared in the next period. Thus, some items came into and others went out of fashion. Table 5.1 illustrates the chi-square group comparison results between the periods for the number of people who possessed a certain item between the periods. I identified innovations as items for which the percentage of possessors in the first period was zero. I distinguished the items that showed a statistically significant decrease between the two periods as out of fashion items.

Nezgeb (a type of headwear) and *derlik* (a type of robe) were examples of such out of fashion items, which lost popularity among Bursian women in the seventeenth century. In the mid-sixteenth century, sixty-five percent of the Bursian women had *nezgebs*, embroidered caps in a variety of colors. Some of these caps were very luxurious, with gold embroidery or precious stones attached. For example, Ferahnaz, the daughter of Abdi, was a *beledi* class woman who had 7,691 *akçes* and possessed a *nezgeb* with expensive gems. Ayşe, the daughter of Abidin, was an *askeri* class woman who had 7,304 *akçes* and owned a gold embroidered *nezgeb*. These two women were among the middling groups of their respective classes, with approximately similar levels of wealth. The *nezgeb* was not only a fashion item but also a display item in mid-sixteenth century Bursa. However the *nezgeb* lost its popularity within a century, so that by the mid-seventeenth century, only nine women had *nezgeb*.

Hair accessories (*saçbağı*), pants (*çintiyan*, *çakşır*), robes (*cellayı*, *entari*), and outerwear (*kürdiye*) were, on the other hand, the innovations, that Bursian women consumed during the mid-seventeenth century. Similarly, the *yelek* (short

jacket), *çintıyan* (pants), and *kürdiye* (outerwear) were novelties for Bursian men were and *şalvar* (pants) were out of fashion during the second period. *Çakşır* (pants) were not popular in the first period among Bursian men; only four percent owned a pair. However, in the second period *çakşır* (pants) became very popular (seventy percent of men possessed them).

Mıyanbend and *kuşak* were both types of belts and thus alternatives to each other. The *miyanbend* was popular among *askeri* individuals during the mid-sixteenth century but out of fashion in the next century. The *kuşak* was initially popular among members of the *beledi* classes, and gained popularity in both classes during the second period. The interest of the *askeri* class in the *kuşak*, which was initially popular in the *beledi* class, is an example of a trickle-up process. In the next section, I delineate the movement of fashion items among the classes.

5.4.2 Movement of Fashion

To be able to detect the movement of fashion items among the classes, I conducted chi-square tests to compare the number of *askeri* and *beledi* individuals who possessed a certain item in the same period (Table 5.7 and 5.8). The findings show that different types of movements – trickle-down, trickle-up, and trickle-across – took place in the case of various fashion items.

The *saçbağı* was a kind of hair accessory and a fashion item during the mid-seventeenth century in Bursa. The *saçbağı* as a fashion item followed a trickle-down pattern in terms of the spread of its popularity. Both *askeri* and *beledi* women consumed *saçbağs*. There was no statistically significant difference between the

classes. The expensive versions of *saçbağı* were especially popular among the *askeri* class women. A seventeenth century poet, Karacaoğlu, who was said to have visited Bursa and Istanbul, described the appearance of the *saçbağı*, and its aesthetic role in the display of a woman's body in his poems (Öztelli, 1972: XXVII). Exerpts from Karacaoğlu's poems are as follows:

As she wakes up in the morning, praises herself
Golden *saçbağı* reaches her toes (Öztelli, 1972, 79)

I will buy you a golden *saçbağı*
Gather it up and wrap around your slender waist

Karac'oğlu praises and praises her
Her golden *saçbağı* reaches her toes (Öztelli, 1972, 165)

I will buy golden *saçbağı* for your braids
Attach it to your hair, hang it up from your waist, bride (Öztelli, 1972, 168)

From the poems, it is clear that the *saçbağı* was a display and a luxury item. It was an accessory that drew attention to sexually appealing parts of the body such as the waist and toes. It could be given as a gift to a beloved or a bride.

A Danish painter, Melchior Lorichs, who visited the Ottoman Empire during 1555 and 1559, depicted four women, two of whom were wearing *saçbağıs*, in one of his pictures (Gürtuna, 1999). The three women on the left of the picture are dressed in their outer gowns, and the one third from the right is wearing a *saçbağı*, which is visible under her veil (Figure 5.5). This indicates that the *saçbağı* was an item of display in the public sphere. The fourth woman, on the right in the picture, is dressed in her indoor outfit. It is possible to see her long *saçbağı*, which has balls attached at the ends. Lorichs drew this picture during the mid-sixteenth century when he was in

Istanbul, the capital city of the Ottoman Empire. The *saçbağı* was popular during the mid-seventeenth century among Bursian women, especially in the *askeri* class. Therefore, it is probable that the spread of the *saçbağı* was a trickle-down process from the upper class to the lower class and from the capital city to the provinces, within a century. The probate data supported this finding, because most of the *askeri* class women had gold or pearl-decorated *saçbağıs*. The ones who were less wealthy possessed silver ones. Twenty percent of the *beledi* class women had *saçbağıs*, which were generally made of silver.

Çintıyan and *çakşır* were two novel forms of trousers which showed a trickle-across process. In the mid-sixteenth century, none of the women had any type of trousers. Women wore *dons*, underpants, instead of trousers under their clothing. Schweigiger's (2004) depiction of women's clothing in Figure 5.1 was evidence of the absence of trousers in women's clothing during the sixteenth century. In the mid-seventeenth century both *askeri* and *beledi* class women consumed *çintıyan* and *çakşır*. These two items differ in their style. *Çintıyan* was a very wide and loose style of trouser, fastened with strings at the waist (Pakalın, 2004). *Çakşır* was a kind of tight trouser (Pakalın, 2004). The two varieties of trousers spread among Bursian women by a trickle-across process. Similarly, *entari* was a kind of novel robe for women, which demonstrated a trickle-across process during the seventeenth century.

The *kürdiye* was a novel type of cloak. Probate inventory records show that *kürdiyes* were made of *çuka* fabric and decorated with fur. The *Kürdiye* became popular among the *askeri* and *beledi* classes and was adopted by Bursian women by means of a trickle-across process. Cornelius de Bruyn was a Dutch traveler who visited Istanbul during 1678 (Gürtuna, 1999). He mentioned that women wore the *kürdiye* as a substitute for the *ferace*. Tezcan (in Gürtuna, 1999) described the

kürdiye as a kind of cloak with long tight sleeves and a close-fitting body. Moreover, there were other cloaks, such as the *çuka* and *kapama*. During the seventeenth century, the *çuka* was in favor among *askeri* class and the *kapama* among *beledi* class women. The *yelek* and *çakşır* were popular among men in the mid-seventeenth century regardless of social class; i.e. these two items had spread among the Bursian men by means of a trickle across process.

These examples show that the movement of novel items was by either a trickle-up, trickle-down, or trickle-across process. However, the most common process was trickle-across. Studies on the history of fashion in Europe have stressed the trickle-down process, in which the movement of fashion items was from the upper to the lower classes (e.g. Veblen, [1899] 1994). In the trickle-across process, the movements of fashion items occurred synchronously in both classes. The fluid Ottoman social structure, in which the boundaries between the classes were blurred, seems to have been influential in promoting this type of process.

5.4.3 Impact of Institutions on the Commercialization of Fashion

In the Ottoman context, innovations originated from different sources and for different purposes. During the sixteenth century, an increase in the population led to an increase in the demand for guild products, and many wage-earning journeyman established new shops, changed production standards, lowered the quality standards and sold products at lower prices, or introduced novelties and stimulated demand (İnalçık, 1973).

For example, the *saray pabucu* (a style of shoe), as a novel item in the sixteenth century, stimulated demand and various guilds started to produce it. A decree of the Sultan, issued in 1579 was sent to the head of the *pabuccu* guild (a guild that manufactured a certain type of shoe) in Istanbul and to the *kadı* of Bursa as well (Altınay, 1988; Dağlıoğlu, 1940). This decree was evidence of the popularity of a novelty; the *saray pabucu*, in Istanbul and Bursa (Dağlıoğlu, 1940). To meet the demand, three different guilds that manufactured footwear- *pabuccular* (*pabuc-makers*), *çizmeciler* (bootmakers) and *başmakcılar* (*başmak-makers*) –started to produce *saray pabucus* in Istanbul. Theoretically, only one guild should have been responsible for manufacturing *saray pabucus*, but as it was a novelty, no regulation existed as to which guild would be responsible for the production. However, when the army was preparing for a campaign, the state asked for craftsman from *pabuc-makers* guild to accompany the army. The *pabuccular* resisted appointing craftsmen for the army, and the *çizmeciler* and *başmakcılar* also decided not to assign craftsmen to the army. The sultan ordered the *çizmeciler* and *başmakcılar* not to interfere in the business of the *pabuccular*, and ordered the *pabuccular* to send craftsmen to accompany the army. Sultan gave the *pabuccular* exclusive right to make the new shoe in return for them accompanying the army. This example demonstrates that as soon as a novelty was introduced into the market that stimulated demand, various guilds started to manufacture the fashion item to exploit the market, disregarding governmental restrictions.

Kaftan (robe) production in Bursa was another example of a situation where the established standards were disregarded. A record in the Bursa court registers indicated that during the seventeenth century, some members of guild of tailors complained about other members of the guild who were making *kaftans* according to

new standards. They asked the officials to enforce the old standards. Such examples show that in terms of clothing, novelties were present in Ottoman society and served to increase competition among guild members. Those who did not enter into such competition to produce new items actively opposed those who innovated. However, it is also evident from the examples that fashion was commercialized due to such thwarting of the old regulations and production standards set by the system.

Another type of innovation was imitation of imported textiles. Dalsar (1960) stated that *kemha* (a kind of silk brocade) became very popular during the sixteenth century and was produced in the main urban centers in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, within the country, a domestic *kemha* trade existed. By the seventeenth century, additional *kemha* versions were being imported to Ottoman lands. These were produced either on Chios Island or in Venice. To exploit this new generation of *kemhas* and compete against their foreign counterparts, Bursian weavers imitated these competitors. Faroqhi (2002) argues that the enormous variety of fabrics imported to the Ottoman textile market led to changes in the consumer tastes in a manner which producers found impossible to control.

Cheap versions of precious fabrics could be considered as novel goods as well. After textile production shifted from Bursa to Istanbul in the sixteenth century, novel fabrics like *seraser*, *şahbenek*, and *zerbaft* started to be woven in Istanbul (Öz, 1950). During the mid-sixteenth century, the number of looms in Istanbul increased to 318. These looms met the demands not only of the palace but of the public as well, as inexpensive versions of these fine fabrics were produced. The state limited the number of looms and the fabric to be stamped to indicate its gold and silver content. Although the state aimed to maintain the traditional order of society by

restricting luxury consumption, the increase in the number of looms was repeated in later periods as well.

In this chapter, I have studied consumption of clothing to explore four indicators of consumer culture: the spread of particular clothing items throughout the population; the increase in the interest in acquisition of such clothing items; the spread of luxury clothing; and the commercialization of fashion. During the analysis I focused on the social structure, the disparity between the norms of dressing and the consumption practices of the Ottoman consumer, and the transformations in the institutional structure surrounding of the textile market. The social structure of Ottoman society led to the presence of three “trickling” processes in terms of clothing consumption, with the trickle-across process being the most common. Fashion process in the European context explained by trickle-down process because there was a distant dominant class and a competing newly rich merchant class which showed upward group mobility. The penetrable Ottoman dominant class which allows intense and general in and out flows, absence of a competing class, intense and general upward mobility from the lower ranks created a fluid social structure. Thus, consumers traveled within the social order and negotiated their cultural, economic, and social capitals continuously. This led to continuous creation of tastes. Because of the intensity of mobility, consumption practices created in the previous position transferred to the new position. Therefore, it should be possible to see a peasant behavior in the dominant class because dominant class members had high level of education but low level of inherited cultural capital. As the dominant class was not distinct, consumers sometimes appreciate the upper echelons but sometimes not. This complexity among the social ranks led to the formation of three trickling processes. Thus, this part of the study has put forward the idea that the nature of the

social structure shaped the movement of fashion items in particular and the diffusion of clothing items in general.

CHAPTER VI

CONSUMPTION OF HOME FURNISHING AND HOME TEXTILES

Most of the European travelers who visited Ottoman lands mentioned the modesty of the Ottoman houses (Carim, 1996; Dernschwam, 1992; Della Valle in Gürtuna, 1999; Schweigger, 2004; Thevenot, 1978). When Ogier Chiselin Busbecq (2004) visited Ottoman lands during the sixteenth century, the unsightly appearance of Turkish houses astonished him – he stated that Turkish people had no interest in display or comfort in their everyday lives. Busbecq argued that the sole reason behind this modesty was Islamic ethics, which regarded worldly affinities as a sign of self-praise. Thus, in Busbecq's view, Turks did not try to attain luxury; it was enough for them to be protected from rain, hot and cold weather, and theft.

Figure 6.1 is from an anonymous picture collection in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna which dates back to the late sixteenth century. The scene depicts a wealthy Ottoman house in the sixteenth century (And, 1993), specifically a room in *harem* (the women's quarters in the Ottoman palace). Though the embroidered cushions and the decorations on the walls represent luxury in home

furnishing, the general design of the room would be the same for modest houses as well.

In the Ottoman house, rooms were not separated according to their function (Üçel-Aybet, 2003). During the day, people sat on cushions and ate their meals on leather *sofras* (a circular leather tabletop) set up on a platform during the meal (Üçel-Aybet, 2003). At night, Ottoman people laid down their mattresses and quilts over the same platform and, in the morning, gathered them up, and placed them in the *yüklük* (a space located inside the wall and used as a closet for bedding). The German traveler Schweigger (2004) said that the Ottoman quilts were generally made of either satin or various silk fabrics, filled with cotton, and embroidered with gold threads.

To complement the information obtained from the travelers' accounts and visual sources, I analyzed probate inventory data, which provided information on both the material aspects of home furnishing goods and changes in the consumption of home furnishing goods in terms of "spread" and "interest" between the two periods and among the *askeri* and *beledi* classes.

6.1 The Spread of Home furnishing and Home textiles

Twenty home furnishing and home textile items were included in the analysis. Table 6.1 shows the percentages of people who possessed a certain home furnishing item in the first period (P1) and in the second period (P2). The chi-square values (Yeats' correction for continuity values) and significance levels are presented in the table as well.

The possession of eight of these items was spread throughout the people living in the city of Bursa. These eight items were: *döşek* (mattress), *yasdık* (pillow), *kilim* (a type of floor covering), *döşeme* (another type of floor covering), *perde* (curtains), *boğça* (wrap), *makrama* (towel), and *sandık* (chest).

I analyzed the spread of items among the two classes in order to see if their spread was only through the upper class (*askeri*) or the lower class (*beledi*) as well. I also compared the number of people who possessed a certain item between the two periods for each social class. The results of the chi-square comparisons are given in Table 6.2. the *yasdık* (pillow), *perde* (curtain), *kilim* (a type of floor covering), and *döşeme* (another type of floor covering) were the items that had spread both to the *askeri* and *beledi* classes. The use of the *çarşeb* (bed sheet), *boğça* (wrapper), and *döşek* (mattress) was spread throughout the *askeri* class, while the use of the *makrama* (towel) as a home textile was spread throughout the *beledi* class people. Thus, consumption of home furnishing goods and textiles was prevalent; i.e., not only bounded by the consumption of the upper class.

Consumption of floor coverings, as a category, is interesting to note because in the Ottoman culture floor coverings were used as display items and symbols of elegance (Carim, 1996). The Spanish captive Pedro, who stayed in Istanbul between 1552 and 1555, recognized the importance of floor coverings for the Ottoman people (Carim, 1996). He stated that covering the floor with carpets was a symbol of elegance, just like Europeans' decorating of their walls was. Pedro served in the homes of the highest ranking officials and described the houses of the elite in his writings. The analysis of the probate records indicates that within a century, the use of floor coverings spread throughout the population (see Table 6.1 for the results of the floor coverings category). However, the spread was solely throughout the higher

status class, i.e., the *askeri* class. The number of *askeri* class individuals who possessed floor coverings showed a statistically significant increase between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries.

Thus, in the mid-seventeenth century, approximately fifty percent of the home furnishing and home textile goods looked at were spread throughout the population, and thus their consumption was proliferated. In the next section, I analyze the interest of the Ottoman individual in acquiring these goods.

6.2 Interest of the Ottoman Individual in the Acquisitions of Home Furnishing and Home Textiles

According to the data from the probate records, there was an increase in the interest in acquiring some of the home furnishing and textile items between the two periods among the Bursian population. The *çarşeb* (bed sheet), *yorgan* (quilt), *yasdık* (pillow), *kilim* (a type of floor covering), *keçe* (a felt floor covering), *döşeme* (kind of floor covering), *perde* (curtain), *boğça* (wrapper), *makrama* (towel), and *sandık* (chest) were the items whose possession per person showed a statistically significant increase (see Table 6.3). Thus, the number of these items consumed within a household increased. After determining there was such an increase, I looked at whether it was valid only for *askeri* class households or for both classes.

The number of *çarşebes* (bed sheets), *döşeks* (mattress), *boğças* (wrappers), *keçes* (felts), and *sandıks* (chests) possessed per person showed a significant increase between the two periods for *askeri* class individuals. *Yasdıks* (pillows), *perdes* (curtains), *yorgan* (quilts), *makrama* (towels), *döşemes* (a type of floor covering), and *kilims* (a type of floor covering) showed an increase for both classes. The

findings suggest that Ottoman people had become more interested in acquiring home furnishing goods by the mid-seventeenth century (see Table 6.4).

This interest in acquiring more home furnishing and textile goods was parallel with changes in the architecture of Ottoman houses and was likely to have been a result of this change. Sedat Hakkı Eldem (1984a; 1984b) studied the historical development of Ottoman houses in various regions of the Ottoman lands, including Bursa. His findings indicated that not only did the architecture and design of the houses change, but the size of the houses also increased during the seventeenth century. This might be one of the reasons why there was an increase in the acquisition of home furnishing goods. Eldem (1984a) argued that the changes in the houses were most probably related to an increase of interest in comfort. It should be noted that seeking comfort is an important indicator of modernization (Arvidsson, 2003). During the seventeenth century, redesigning houses by enclosing *sofas* (open halls) with windows and thus incorporating them into the house was a way of enlarging the house. Though the level of interest of Europeans in home furnishing seems to be higher than the Ottomans, an increase in the acquisition of home furnishing material is observed. This redesign added comfort in terms of ease of heating and maintenance (Eldem, 1984a). This enlargement might also have led to increase in the amount of home furnishing goods consumed per household. Like seeking comfort, engaging in luxury consumption is an indicator of modernization. In the next section, I focus on the consumption of luxury home furnishing and textile items and their spread among the Ottoman people.

6.3 The Spread of Luxury Home Furnishing Goods

Although most travelers mentioned the modesty of Ottoman houses in general, the extravagantly decorated houses of high status individuals such as state bureaucrats also attracted their attention (Busbecq, 2004; Carim, 1996; Schweigger, 2004; Thevenot, 1978).

Both Busbecq (2004) and Thevenot (1978) mentioned that wealthy Ottomans had big houses with large gardens and *hamams* (baths), but unlike in European houses, there was an absence of luminous arches, large halls, and beautiful ornamentation. During the mid-seventeenth century, the houses of the wealthy were large and surrounded by high walls (Thevenot, 1978). The ceilings were decorated with gold and lapis lazuli, the floors with beautiful carpets, and the walls with very fine ceramic tiles. In each and every room, platforms (*divans*), which were approximately a foot high, were used as seating areas. *Divans* were covered by carpets that were even finer than the ones on the floor. Cushions, which were ornamented with gild (*yaldız*), leaned against the walls. Thevenot's description was inline with the miniature presented in Figure 6.2 (in Gürtuna, 1999). This miniature is from a manuscript – *Siyer-i Nebi* – which is about Hz. Muhammed's life story (Gürtuna, 1999). Sultan Murat III ordered a copy of the *Siyer-i Nebi*, and court artists drew a large number of illustrations for the manuscript. Figure 6.2 is one of them and depicts the home of Hz. Hatice before she married the prophet, Hz. Muhammed. The scene concerns the preparations made in Hz. Hatice's home for the visit of Hz. Muhammed's family. However, the Ottoman court artists had no information on the actual appearance of Hz. Hatice's home. Therefore, the miniature in fact depicts sixteenth-century Ottoman home furnishings (Gürtuna, 1999).

In the room in Figure 6.2, the floor is covered by carpets, and the walls are adorned with blue ceramic tiles. Wooden decorations are illustrated in light brown. The space intended for the guests is covered with a dark yellow carpet. There are also cushions of various colors, including red, black, light green and light brown. The room is illuminated by huge candles and *çırağs* (pine wood torches) which are carried by two women in the right foreground of the miniature. Candles are either carried by women or placed in candlesticks probably made of gold. In addition there are many kitchen utensils placed on the floor in order to serve food to the guests.

Both the miniature and the travelers' accounts described the extravagant home furnishings of wealthy, high-status people. Conspicuous consumption by upper class individuals is usual in most contexts. However, prevalence of luxury consumption is an indicator of modern consumer culture. Therefore, I analyzed the spread of luxury or populuxe home furnishing and textile items during the period of study.

Home furnishings and textiles were made of various fabrics. Some of these were luxurious types of cloth such as *atlas* (satin), *kadife* (velvet), *çatma* (a kind of flower patterned velvet in which the flower patterns had long piles), *zerbaft* (a kind of sturdy silk fabric woven using silver threads), *benek* (embroidered cloth), *kılabdanlı* (silver- or gold-threaded cloth), *münakkaş* (embroidered cloth), *seraser* (a type of cloth having a silk weft and a silver warp), *diba* (patterned silk cloth), *kemha* (silk brocade), and *sereng* (a type of silk cloth in which yellow colored rather than real gold threads were used). Other fabrics were ordinary, inexpensive types cloths such as *yemeni* (colored thin cotton cloth), *beledi* (a domestic cotton cloth), *basma* (printed cotton cloth), *alaca* (a colored and striped cotton fabric), *kutni* (a sturdy fabric made of cotton and silk), and *bogasi* (cotton cloth). In both of the periods, the

most popular luxurious fabrics were *kadife*, *münakkaş*, *çatma*, and *benek*, and the most popular ordinary fabrics were *beledi*, *basma*, *yemeni*, and *alaca*. However, in the second period, *askeri* class people continued to consume luxury cloths more than did the *beledi* class. Thus, it is not possible to argue that there was proliferation of the consumption of luxury home furnishing items in the Ottoman Empire during this period.

Contemporary observers noted that Ottomans did not in general possess many home furnishings. Schweigger (2004), for example, compared luxury consumption in the clothing and home furnishing categories, arguing that Turkish people liked display and extravagance in their clothing but had few home furnishings and kitchen utensils in their homes. Similarly, Hans Dernschwam (1992), who visited Anatolia during the sixteenth century, mentioned that the Turks were sovereign but they did not possess anything to speak of in their homes. Evliya Çelebi, the famous Ottoman seventeenth century traveler, visited a village near the city of Brandaburg (close to Amsterdam) and was astonished with the villagers' comfortable and even luxurious bedding (Zillioğlu, 1971). These Dutch peasants used pillows and quilts filled with feathers and slept on mattresses elevated on bedsteads. The insider and outsider views on the comparative significance of home furnishings in the European and Ottoman contexts thus show parallels.

As a category of consumer goods, luxurious home furnishing items were not utilized to display status among the Ottoman people and were not widespread. The general attitude towards the house might provide insight into the apparent insignificance of the home furnishing category. Eldem (1984a) stated that the house was a temporary space for Ottoman people. It was not something protected and passed down through the family lineage. Houses were rebuilt over and over again.

Thus, Ottomans, who reconstructed “home” continuously, did not link it with their position in the social order as in the European case, where belonging to a family provided a position in the social order. This might be due to the absence of established aristocratic families and landowning gentry in the Ottoman social order during the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. Ottoman dominant class composed of educated peasantry, who were assigned to jobs according to their personal capabilities not family lineages. Eldem (1984a) noted that especially in urban centers like Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa, it was not possible to find any families that kept their houses down through the generations. Thus, houses and home furnishing items, which symbolized family lineage in Europe were not used as status symbols in Ottoman society. Instead, category of clothing which communicated the occupation of individual or his social position appropriated.

Although home furnishing was not an important criterion in communicating status, at least for ordinary people, there were some changes in the styles of home furnishing and interior architecture. In the next section, I investigate the changes in the style of home furnishing goods and interior architecture to see the modest changes in fashion.

6.4 Commercialization of Home Furnishing and Home Textiles Fashion

Unlike clothing items, there were not many novel items or home furnishing goods that went in and out of fashion. I identified *perdes* (curtains) and *döşemes* (a type of floor coverings) as items that gained popularity within the seventeenth century. *Balins* were an example of an out-of-fashion item. In order to see the shift in fashion

between classes, I focused on the consumption of fashion items across the social classes separately for both periods. Table 6.5 provides the results of the Chi-square test for the differences between the *askeri* and *beledi* classes in terms of the number of people who possessed a certain item in the first and second periods. One percent of the *askeri* individuals and ten percent of the *beledi* consumed *perdes* (curtains) in the first period. In the mid-sixteenth century, *beledi* class individuals who had wealth of at least 4,500.- *akçes* consumed *yük perdesis*. As mentioned the *yük* or *yüklük* was an area which was cut into the wall and previously open to view to store bedding material like mattresses, quilts, pillows, and bedsheets. A *yük perdesi*, which was hung in front of the *yüklük*, was used in place of a closet door. In the mid-seventeenth century, fifty-two percent of *askeri* and twenty-seven percent of *beledi* individuals possessed *perdes*. Thus, there was a trickle-up movement process in the case of *perde*. However, *askeri* class people extended the use of *perdes* in the second period. In the probate records of the *askeri* class, there were *yüklük* (closet), *çanaklık* (cupboard), and *ocaklık* (fireplace) *perdes*. For example, Saliha ibnet es-seyyid mehmed, who died in the year 1655 and left 60,080.- *akçes* of wealth, had a *kadife ocak perdesi* (velvet fireplace curtain) ornamented with spangles and a *yüklük perdesi* (closet curtain) made of *basma* (printed cotton cloth). Fatıma bint-i ömer, who died in 1648 and left 4,105.- *akçes* of wealth, had one fireplace and one cupboard curtain. Thus, the findings show that regardless of wealth, the *perde*, which was a decorative item became popular among the *askeri* class.

Döşemes (a type of floor covering) were not popular in the first period among the Bursians. In the mid-seventeenth century, fifteen percent of the *askeri* and twenty-two percent of the *beledi* people possessed *döşemes*. The movement of the *döşeme* within society shows a trickle-across process, in which the novelty diffused

among both classes. Most of the *döşeme* items recorded were identified as *hamam döşemesi* and used as a cover laid down over the sofa where people sat on and changed their clothes before entering the bath. I will focus on the *hamam döşemesi* in the section about consumption of bath objects in Chapter 7.

Kaliçes or *kalis* (carpets) were popular mainly among *askeri* class households in both of the periods. In the first period, the *kilim* (a flat-woven rug), the *zili* (a specific type of kilim), and the *keçe* (felt) were the substitutes of *kaliçe*. Unlike the other two, the *kilim* was popular among the *beledi* class. Twelve percent of *askeri* and thirty-six percent of *beledi* class people had *kilims* in their houses during the mid-sixteenth century. In the second period, the *zili* was out-of-fashion among the Bursians regardless of class. The popularity of the *keçe* also decreased for both of the classes. However, the interest towards *kilims* increased, with sixty-seven percent of the *askeri* and fifty-four percent of the *beledi* households covering their floors with *kilims*. Thus, the *kilim* shows a trickle-up process, becoming fashionable among the *askeri* households in the second period.

The *balin* was a kind of thick, circular cushion used to sit on. In the first period, fifty-four percent of *askeri* and twenty-four percent of *beledi* households owned *balins*. However, the *balin* went out of fashion within a century, and only two percent of *askeri* and one percent of *beledi* individuals possessed one in the second period. The *yasdik* (pillow) and *minder* (cushion) may have been substitutes for the *balin*. Though *minder* consumption was constant over time, *yasdik* consumption increased for both classes. This increase might be due to the increase in the size of the houses, and also especially for *askeri* households, the *yasdik* probably took the place of the *balin*.

In addition to the home furnishing items, the interior architecture of the houses showed shifts in fashion as well. Eldem (1984a) studied a house which is still standing in the Bursa Sarayönü district and dates back to the sixteenth century (he suspects that this house is the oldest house of Turkey). He observed that the house had plaster decorations. This finding was in accordance with Schweigger's (2004) description of Turkish houses in the sixteenth century, which noted that there were beautifully crafted plaster window frames. Eldem (1984a) determined that the plaster decorations of the sixteenth century began to be painted as time passed, and ceramic tiles were also added to the decoration. During the seventeenth century, instead of closets was cut into the wall, wooden cupboards were used. Eldem (1984a) stated that from the sixteenth century onwards, wood started to take place of plaster, and separate cells and cupboards were joined together to form large cupboards. Thus, wood became a fashionable material for use in home decoration (see Figure 6.3). A similar trend was observed for fireplaces; earlier they were made of plaster, but later wooden fireplaces became popular.

Eldem's (1984) findings show that storage places within the house improved over time: materials changed and aesthetics became important. My findings on the utilization of *perdes* (curtains) are consistent with this. During the seventeenth century, Bursians' increase interest in the aesthetic appearance of the interior design of their houses was demonstrated by their use of either enclosed wooden storage areas or curtains to hide the contents from view.

Analysis of the probate data demonstrates presence of fashionable home furnishing items during the period. However, the changes in the architectural designs and interior design of the wealthy houses show that there were trends which

brought aesthetic concerns in the lives of Ottomans such as wooden cupboards, ceramic tiles, and colored window frames.

Consumption of home furnishing items and linens were prevalent during the seventeenth century than a century ago. The spread of these household goods were both to the *askeri* and *beledi* classes. The interest of Bursians on the home furnishing goods increased during the second period. This might have in accordance with the increase in the size of the houses built during the period. The wealthy spent their money to luxurious home furnishing goods, large houses with decors (ceramic tiles, plaster frames, wooden cupboards). However, these were very modest when compared to European counterparts because dominant class in western societies were composed of nobility who display their status with the extravagant houses they lived and passed from one generation to the other. Moreover, there were shifts in fashion in home furnishing goods, interior plan and décor of houses. These shifts may have been related with the individuals' increasing interest in comfort in their lives.

CHAPTER VII

COMMERCIALIZATION OF LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

In medieval west, leisure time activities were specific to the dominant class and experienced in private spheres (Plumb, 1982). However, during the early modern period, leisure time activities were commercialized, became widespread, experienced in public sphere and constituted an indicator of modern consumer culture. Leisure time activities were prevalent and commercialized in the early modern Ottoman society. I examine two separate sites of leisure time consumption for the two sexes: (1) the coffee and coffeehouse consumption of Ottoman men, and (2) the bath consumption of Ottoman women. Both these spaces and the objects particular to them became popularized across different classes and thus democratized. First, I present my findings on coffee consumption, with bath consumption being explored in the folloowing section.

7.1 Coffee and Coffeehouse Consumption of Ottoman Men

Two entrepreneurs from Aleppo and Damascus opened the first coffeehouses in Istanbul in 1554-1555 in Istanbul (Hattox, 1996). During the late sixteenth century, this novel way of passing time not only became a very popular leisure activity in Istanbul, but also spread to small Ottoman towns and even to the countryside (Faroghi, 1986). I examined the spread and democratization of coffee utensils as objects and coffeehouses as spaces intrinsically related to this leisure activity. Next, I looked at the struggle among the various discourses that governed the practices of coffee consumers and institutions in relation to coffee consumption and studied the process of the legitimization of coffeehouse consumption as a leisure time activity between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries.

7.1.1 Spread of Coffee and Coffeehouse Consumption

Thevenot (1978), a French traveler, visited Ottoman lands between 1655 and 1656. He was amazed by the popularity of coffee, stating that the inhabitants drank coffee continually throughout the week. He described coffee and coffee utensils as follows (Thevenot, 1978: 91):

This drink is made of coffee beans. They put the coffee beans in a dish; roast them over a stove or fire, and pound them in a mortar to make coffee powder. When they want to drink coffee, they take an *ibrik* (ewer with a handle and long spout), which is a kind of pot in which water boils immediately. They fill the *ibrik* with water and boil it. When the water boils, for three cups of coffee, they add a spoonful of coffee powder to the *ibrik*. When the mixture boils, they take it off the stove, otherwise, it boils over. They pour it into porcelain coffee cups and put the cups on a painted wooden tray and serve it very hot. You have to drink coffee very

hot, but drinking more than one after another is harmful. This drink was bitter and black. You can easily taste that it is roasted.

Thevenot's (1978) description of coffeemaking includes utensils: the *ibrik* (ewer) and *fincan* (cup) (Figure 7.1). Figure 7.1 illustrates a coffee cup which was produced in Kütahya, a city famous by its porcelains (Gregoire, 1989). These were the most common coffee utensils in the probate inventories of the mid-seventeenth century as well.

In the mid-sixteenth century, none of the probate records listed coffee utensils such as coffee cups or ewers. However, within a century, thirty-eight and twenty-eight percent of the male inventories included a *kahve ibriği* (coffee ewer) and *kahve fincanı* (coffee cups) respectively (Table 7.1). The class comparisons show that both of the items diffused throughout the *askeri* and *beledi* classes without any statistically significant difference (Table 7.2). This is evidence of a trickle-across spread of coffee utensils and coffee consumption in the mid-seventeenth century.

Parallel with the findings of probate records, Thevenot (1978) discussed the popularity of coffee consumption and its democratization in the society. He stated that both the poorest and the wealthiest Ottomans alike drank at least two or three cups a day. Moreover, husbands were responsible for providing coffee for their wives. This indicates that Ottomans considered coffee as a near necessity during the seventeenth century.

Not only drinking coffee but frequenting coffeehouses was also very popular among the Ottoman people. People from various social strata went to coffeehouses. For example, a decree concerning the banning of coffeehouses which was sent to the *kadı* (judge and governor of a town) of Bursa in 1578 was very informative regarding the consumers of the coffeehouses in Bursa during the period. The types of

consumers included young men, artisans, people who were working to earn their livelihoods and students and graduates of the Muslim theological school. In other words, wide spectrum of people frequented coffeehouses in Bursa. Another source of information about the customer profiles of coffeehouses is present in the Gelibolu'lu Mustafa Ali's (Şeker, 1997) good manner book. He stated that the frequenters of coffeehouses were good and bad people, *dervişes* (members of a religious order) and *ehl-i irfan* (men of knowledge), the homeless and the poor, modest people, and spendthrift people like *sipahi* and *yeniçeri* (two classes of cavalrymen). Thus, from both the decree and the good manner book, it is evident that a wide variety of people from very different classes went to the coffeehouses.

Figure 7.2 is a miniature, which depicts a late sixteenth or seventeenth century coffeehouse with a variety of customers (And, 2004). The miniature shows the coffeehouse as a space, the consumers who frequented it, and the activities that went on in it. It seems that the coffeehouse was crowded. At the upper left, there appears the entrance, from which a few people are entering the coffeehouse. At the upper right, the coffeehouse owner is shown at the stove, pouring coffee into white and blue porcelain coffee cups. In the upper middle part, people of a relatively higher rank are seated on a higher platform separate from the rest of the coffeehouse, with their coffee cups in their hands. In the central part of the miniature, *literati* seated on a platform are engaged in reading and writing poetry. Among the *literati*, on the right there is a Mevlevi dervish distinguished by his yellow *külâh* (a long conical cap). In front of the *literati*, a young man is dancing and playing *zils* (a type of percussion like castanet). On the left, there are musicians, and on the right consumers are watching the entertainment. In the lower part of the miniature, people of a relatively lower class are seated, playing games such as backgammon. Thus,

this coffeehouse miniature (Figure 7.2) illustrates that coffeehouse consumption was spread throughout Ottoman society and proliferated. Similarly, the French traveler Thevenot (1978) stated that without any discrimination of religion or status, everyone could go to coffeehouses. Gelibolu'lu Mustafa Ali's views also support the view that coffeehouse consumption was widespread in the Ottoman context during the sixteenth century. Gelibolu'lu Mustafa Ali was very critical of the people who frequented coffeehouses, stating that "worthless people from every class attend wine houses and coffeehouses and pass their time among a group of the worthless" (Şeker, 1997: 111). Peçevi, an Ottoman historian, stated that there was no place of enjoyment like coffeehouses where customers such as out-of-office administrators, magistrates, professors, imams, muezzins, hypocritical Sufis, and those who were unwaged filled the coffeehouses. He pointed that after coffeehouse became popular, men did not go to mosques anymore. Thus, religious authorities recognized coffeehouse as a place of evil (Andrews and Kalpaklı, 2005).

From upper to lower echelons of Ottoman society adopted coffeehouses as a type of leisure consumption (Andrews and Kalpaklı, 2005; Şeker, 1997). Therefore, as an indicator of modern consumer culture, leisure commercialized, became widespread, and experienced in public sphere. However, particularity of the Ottoman context is that coffeehouse as a fashion of the era shows a trickle-across way of diffusion throughout different echelons of the society. In the western context, the competition between the elite and the newly rich middle-classes defined the commercialization of leisure time activities (Plumb, 1982). However, in the Ottoman context, the dominant class was penetrable to lower classes and thus there was not any competing powerful group that threatens dominant class. Therefore,

wageless and homeless frequented coffeehouses as well as the elite. They together consumer the same place and enjoyed themselves.

7.1.2 Tastes in Coffeehouse Consumption

Various groups of people went to coffeehouses, and the manner in which they enjoyed themselves there varied. Different people enjoyed different activities, including talking about poetry, chatting and gossiping, watching lively dance and music performances, and playing games. The literati, composed of the *ehl-i irfan* (men of knowledge) and dervishes (Şeker, 1997), had highly aesthetic tastes, and utilized coffeehouses as an alternative site for their poetry where they could gather to discuss poetry. Poetry was one of the most popular aesthetic forms in the Ottoman Empire. Gelibolu’lu Mustafa Ali, who was a high-level bureaucrat, accepted conversing about poetry and drinking coffee (Şeker, 1997). These practices were not considered contrary to Ottoman’s Sunni (orthodox) Islamic morality, which governed the state administration and the graduates of theological schools (Ocak, 2003). Kınalızade Ali Efendi, a famous scholar and author of a book on morality, listed appropriate types of consumption, which included supporting poets (Öztürk, 1991). However, there were other customers with different tastes, who frequented coffeehouses, and enjoying themselves were against the rules of Sunni Islam, the dominant ideology. For example, the indigent also went to coffeehouses, where they wasted time instead of working to earn a living, and obtained narcotics (Dağlıoğlu, 1940).

A very good example which delineates the practices of and interaction between the elite and the poor is a play that was staged in 1582 during a circumcision ceremony held in Istanbul. Intizami, a poet of the period, wrote about the events that took place during this ceremony, which ceremony was conducted to celebrate the circumcision of Sultan's son (Korkmaz, 2004). Most of the city's guilds presented performances to the Sultan relating to their trades. The coffeehouse guilds performed a play, whose characters were a coffeehouse owner and two groups of coffeehouse customers: the *zarifan* (the elite) and the *kahvehane öksüzleri* (poor people; literally, coffeehouse orphans). While the *zarifan* sat relaxed in the most spacious part of the coffeehouse, the poor begged the coffeehouse owner to reboil the coffee grains left in the cups of the elite and give them this secondhand coffee for free. To convince him, the poor imitated the elite's gestures in order to create an image of refinement. However, the owner rejected their plea. This situation disappointed the elite customers, and they tried to persuade the coffeehouse owner to change his mind, but he refused. At the end of the play, the *kahvehane öksüzleri* became ill. It was understood that they were opium addicts and had no money at all. This example shows that customers from different social strata came to the same coffeehouse, but enjoyed different kinds of pleasures. Obtaining pleasure from narcotics was unsuitable according to Sunni Islamic ethics and was one of the reasons for bans on coffeehouses.

Another group which frequented coffeehouses consisted of Janissaries (cavalrymen). Janissaries typically experienced social mobility in the course of life histories. They were selected when they were young from the peasant population, especially from among the Christians living in the Balkans (Pakalın, 2004). The state educated these young boys and appointed them to state posts. Gelibolu'lu

Ali asserted that the janissaries who frequented coffeehouses were ignorant *sefihs* (hedonists who spent their money wastefully). They socialized in coffeehouses and wasted time gossiping (Şeker, 1997). Their upward mobility from the peasantry to *askeri* class might explain their interest in leisure activities.

Members of the mystical orders went to coffeehouses as well. Gelibolu’lu Ali claimed that they merely stopped by the coffeehouses, and left them a short while after drinking their coffee who associated coffee drinking with a very famous dervish, Şeyh Şazeli, since coffee drinking originated in the *sufi* gatherings in his lodge (Dağlıoğlu, 1940; Şeker, 1997).

Different tastes and manners of acquiring pleasure were satisfied by different leisure time activities in the context of the coffeehouse. *Ehl-i irfan* and dervishes who discussed poetry were individuals with a high level of cultural capital from both the *askeri* and *beledi* classes. Janissaries, who were *askeri* class members, had a lower level of cultural capital and upward social mobility. Members of mystical orders who had a medium level of cultural and economic capital could belong to either the *askeri* or *beledi* class. The *kahvehane öksüzleri* had the lowest economic and cultural capital among the groups and came from the *beledi* class. Overall, the *askeri* class had a relatively higher level of cultural capital than the *beledi* class. However, it is not possible to differentiate the *askeri* and *beledi* classes in terms of their consumption patterns and tastes. There were a variety of factions within the *askeri* and *beledi* classes with varying cultural and economic capital levels. The fluid Ottoman social structure may have prevented the formation of strictly defined class-based tastes and manners of acquiring pleasure.

There were a variety of discourses which shaped the manner of acquiring pleasure. Some of these hedonic appeals were contrary to the principles of Sunni

Islam, as the way experienced in the Ottoman context and constituted the governing discourse of the Ottoman state. Therefore, there existed during the period a great dispute within society regarding the appropriateness of coffeehouse consumption. This entailed a struggle between the discourses of pleasure and Sunni Islam. In the following section, I delineate the discourses and their impact on the coffeehouse consumption and the institutions.

7.1.3 Genealogy of Coffee and Coffeehouse Consumption

Pleasure was one of the discourses governing the activities that took place in the coffeehouse. Ottoman poetry is full of examples of writings on coffee and the coffeehouse as a site for pleasure. For example, in 1583 Macunizade wrote a poem on the coffeehouse as a unique and novel site of pleasure (Ünver, 1963: 53):

The meeting place of literati, the state of pleasure
Its style is appropriate, its art is unique

Search, but it will not be possible to find anything like that
Coffeehouse which has newly emerged

History is watching without any remedy
Like heaven, this is a unique place

In the above poem, the metaphor of heaven was used to describe the coffeehouse as a site for pleasure. Gelibolu'lu Mustafa Ali, similarly, used the heaven metaphor for coffeehouses. He compares the waiters in the coffeehouse to the *huris* (female slaves) and *gilman* (male slaves) as described in the Koran as serving the inhabitants of heaven.

Another late sixteenth-century poem by an anonymous writer delineates the importance of coffee for the pleasure seeker (Açıkgöz, 1999:13):

What revives the pleasure of the hedonist?
Freshly boiled coffee prepared by a youth

Manisalı Şuhudi wrote a poem on the popularity of the coffeehouse as a site for pleasure (Açıkgöz, 1999: 8):

People addicted to hashish, şerbet, and coffee
The coffeehouse is the hospital of the hedonist

Though the pleasure discourse shaped the manner of acquiring pleasure in the coffeehouse context, it was not the only discourse which governed coffeehouse consumption. Sunni Islam opposed the pleasure discourse, which constituted a threat to its norms.

Sunni Islam established a dialectical relation between worldly affinities and the divinity and determined the appropriate way of living for an ideal Muslim (Ülgener, 1981). These norms are stated in two sources dating back to the sixteenth century. One of them was the previously mentioned good manner book of Gelibulu'lu Mustafa Ali and the other one was a book on morality, which Kınalızade Ali Efendi, a very famous scholar of Islamic ethics, wrote between 1563 and 1565 (Öztürk, 1991; Şeker, 1997). An ideal Sunni Muslim had to work hard to earn a living and to accumulate a certain level of wealth, which in turn should not dominate his inner world (Ülgener, 1981). Meeting the requirements of Islam, meeting personal and family needs, giving gifts, giving money for charitable purposes to gain people's blessings, and supporting poets were appropriate types of consumption (Öztürk, 1991). On the otherhand, Sunni Islam restricted consuming to fulfill desires which religion prohibited (e.g. drinking wine), as well as excessive wasteful and

conspicuous consumption (Öztürk, 1991; Şeker, 1997). Coffeehouse consumption was a way of wasting time and money conspicuously, instead of working to earn a living. Furthermore, it prevented people from praying to God. Therefore coffeehouse consumption distorted both sides of the Sunni dialectic (Ülgener, 1981). It is possible to find evidences of reactions towards coffeehouse consumption in Sultan's decrees, *Şeyh'ül-İslam* Ebussuud's *fetvas*, and Katip Çelebi's (a very famous seventeenth century scholar) works.

For example, the Sultan's decree sent to the *kadı* of Bursa in 1578 stated that people who were frequenting coffeehouses were in disgrace and university students and university graduates were becoming ignorant (Dağlıoğlu, 1940). The decree clearly states that coffeehouse consumption prevented earning a living, producing, and developing in one's occupation, i.e., the worldly activities an ideal Muslim should engage in.

In another example, Katip Çelebi stated that the entertainment provided by *kıssahans* (storytellers) and *çengis* (dancers) in the coffeehouse hindered the public from working (Gökyay, 1980).

Şeyh'ül-İslam Ebussuud issued a *fetva* which constituted another example of a reaction to coffeehouses. Ebussuud argued that the coffeehouse prevented individuals from both earning a living and engaging the activities necessary to reach God. Passing time in the coffeehouse not only led Muslims to disregard *namaz* (the prayers performed by Muslims five times a day), but also inhibited them from reaching God due to the hedonistic activities such as love affairs, jealousy, quarrels, useless games like backgammon and chess, interest in bodily appetites, use of narcotics, and gossiping (Düzdağ, 1998).

Yet, Sufism played a legitimizing role in relation to the coffee and coffeehouse consumption in the society. Sufism, which was a fusion of mystic values originating from different religious discourses (Ocak, 2003), deformed the Sunni ethic's dialectic between worldly affinities and the divinity. Sufism emphasizes the divinity side of the dialectic, having adopted the idea of trusting God in every concern of life without making any effort. Sufism does not advocate interest in the material side of life, conspicuous consumption, display, and luxury but rather favors spending time in practicing rituals conducive to reaching God (Ülgener, 1981). However, Ülgener (1981) argues that the less educated members of the Sufi lodges deformed the idea and enjoyed the pleasures of leisure time activities and consumption instead of production.

Amasyalı Süluki, a poet of the sixteenth century, gave in one of his poems an example of the role of Sufism in coffee consumption (Açıkgöz, 1999). In his poem, Süluki asserted that people who speak negatively about coffee drinkers are ignorant, because the coffee drinking tradition was originated by Şeyh Ebu'l-Hasan Şazeli, who was a very famous leader of a mystical order in Africa.

Nağzi, a seventeenth-century poet, also demonstrated the legitimizing role of Sufi discourse in a poem on the struggle between wine and coffee. He personified wine and coffee, and the utensils used in their consumption and wrote a long story in the form of a poem on the rivalry between the two beverages. In the last part of the poem, “coffee” and “wine” went to court and gave their statements to the judge (Açıkgöz, 1999:67):

In his statement, coffee said that his own birth was based to the prophet Muhammed. When coffee was in Ethiopia, King Solomon heard about him and brought him to Yemen. Coffee experienced pain and came to the lodge of Şeyh Şazeli. In the lodge, he underwent ascetic treatment. His covering was peeled off, and he was roasted, pounded, and boiled.

Then he left Yemen and went to Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Egypt and Aleppo, finally arriving in Istanbul an adventurous trip via the Mediterranean route.

Coffee was used as a beverage among the *sufi* circles in Yemen, and the initiation of the practice of drinking it was ascribed to a very famous spiritual leader. This made coffee legitimate among Muslim people despite the negative connotations attached to it by orthodox Islamic ethics.

In addition to Sufi ethics, the discourse of health encompasses both positive and negative views and thus, legitimizes both pleasure and Sunni Islamic discourses. For example, *Şeyh'ül-İslam* Bostanzade, who was the religious authority in the sixteenth century after *Şeyh'ül-İslam* Ebussuud, favored coffee drinking. İştılıpli vaiz Emin Efendi, a preacher, asked him about the appropriateness of coffee, and Bostanzade issued a *fetva* on the issue (Açıkgöz, 1999). İştılıpli vaiz Emin asked if coffee was harmful to human body since it had a cold and dry nature. Bostanzade wrote a *fetva* which stated that some foods are dry, and some are hot, and this has nothing to do with harm to the body. He listed the benefits of coffee to the body: it releases pain, prevents throwing up and inhalation problems, eliminates pustules in the eye, psychologically relaxes people, sharpens thinking, banishes sadness, and prevents sleepiness. However, Gelibolu'lu Ali asserted that, on the contrary, coffee was not beneficial to the human body because it interfered with sleep and reduced sexual desire (Şeker, 1997). In addition, if drunk in large amounts, it increased urination. These examples were evidence of the legitimizing role of the health discourse both for and against coffee consumption.

Over the course of a century, there was a great deal of debate on coffeehouse consumption. During the mid-seventeenth century, the Ottoman state, which Sunni

Islam governed, permitted the operation of coffeehouses and coffee consumption. This is because increase in coffee exports provided a much needed cash inflow to the Ottoman treasury (Faroghi, 1986). During the late sixteenth century, tax registers from Kastamonu (an Anatolian town) included taxes levied upon the sale of coffee (Faroghi, 1986). During the seventeenth century, the increasing popularity of coffee and coffeehouses led to an increase in the demand for coffee and huge amounts of coffee were traded. Bursa judicial records provide an example relating to the coffee trade during the seventeenth century (Gerber, 1988). A Bursa merchant who traded between Egypt and Bursa died during a trip in 1677 and left more than one and a half tons of coffee among his possessions. Moreover, Gerber (1988) stated that the Bursa judicial registers showed that smaller scale transactions in the coffee trade were also common. Thus, rather than combating coffeehouse consumption even though it distorted Sunni ethics, the Ottoman state collected coffee taxes as income. The struggle between the pleasure discourse and Sunni Islam in fact continued in poetry up until the nineteenth century (Açıkgöz, 1999), as the economic discourse became ever more dominant in the Ottoman state.

To conclude remark, the domination of economic discourse within the state is an indicator of the process of modernization. In the Ottoman context, coffeehouses constituted an example of the commercialization of leisure time activities, which is an indicator of modern consumer culture. However, in the Ottoman context during the period of study, coffeehouse consumption was vlimited to the male portion of the population. Therefore, in the following section, I investigate the role of baths as sites of leisure time activity for females.

7.2 Bath Consumption

Public baths were the places in which Ottoman women enjoyed themselves and socialized. In an Ottoman town, public baths were among the most ostentatious buildings (Schweigge, 2004). Bursa was very famous for its baths, because in the region there was an abundance of water resources, hot springs, and high-level bureaucrats who built lots of public baths (Ergenç, 1979). During the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi visited Bursa and stated that there were around three thousand public baths in the city (Zillioğlu, 1971). Though the number seems to be very high, his emphasis on the public baths of Bursa shows the importance of baths for the Ottoman people. In the sixteenth century judicial records of Bursa, there appeared a total of thirty-six baths revealed (Ergenç, 1979). The population of the city at that time is estimated as forty thousand people (Ergenç, 1979). Thus, an average of thousand people attended each public bath. Some of these baths had two sections; one for men and one for women. The others did not have separate sections but instead had separate hours for men (mornings) and women (afternoons)(Sandys in Üçel-Aybet, 2003).

European travelers who visited the Ottoman Empire during the period were astonished by the popularity of the public baths (Bassano da Zara in And, 1993; Pedro, 1996; Schweigge, 2004; Thevenot, 1978), and described them in detail in their writings. The entrance of the bath was a large circular space with a dome, in which a marble pool with fountains and seats made of brick was present (Bassano da Zara in And, 1993). Figure 7.3 depicts a public bath. In the right background of the picture, the entrance of the bath, which had a lead dome painted dark blue, and a pool inside painted red with a flowing fountain, is illustrated (And, 1993: 242). This

figure comes from present in a catalogue in Dresden which dates back to 1582 (And, 1993). The part of the building where people took their baths was located next to the entrance, covered by larger dome surrounded in turn by smaller domes. On each dome, there were windows (illustrated by dark grey circles). Schweigger (2004) described inside of a bath in his account. The central part of the bath (the larger dome in Figure 7.3) was open, and had a marble platform on which people stayed to sweat. Along the walls, there were small rooms which surrounded the central part (the smaller domes were the ceilings of these rooms). Schweigger (2004) observed blue curtains hanging over the doors of each room. In these rooms, there were two brass taps where hot and cold water flowed into a *kurna* (basin in a bathhouse) which was generally made of marble (see Figure 7.4). Figure 7.4 is from a catalogue created by Abdullah Buhari, an eighteenth-century court artist, in the collections of Topkapı Palace Museum (And, 1993: 459). Although the figure belongs to a later period, it is useful in visualizing the context: the *kurna*, taps, and bath objects like the *hamam tası* (bath bowl) and the *futa* (bath wrapper).

Travelers described not only the appearance of baths but the experience of bath consumption for women as well. Hans Dernschwam (1992) mentioned that Ottoman women enjoyed attending public baths and went there frequently. They generally went to public baths in groups of ten to twenty (Busbecq, 2004). Figure 7.4 depicts a group of women going to a bathhouse. There may have been two reasons for this group attendance. The first one is that Ottoman women were not allowed to go out alone. Going out with other people would provide the women with witnesses who would be able to say where she was and what she was doing while she was out. In the mid-sixteenth century, *Şeyh'ül-İslam* Ebussuud Efendi issued a *fetva* about women's attending baths. He stated that if a woman attended a bath with

honor and virtue, and together with her servants, then she would not lose her virtue (Düzdağ, 1998).

Secondly and more importantly, they socialized there, relieving their boredom chatting, dancing, and generally enjoying themselves. Ordinary middle-class women went to public baths once, twice, or even four times a week, and sometimes spent the whole day from the early morning to the evening, in the bath (Bassano da Zara in And, 1993). Baths were popular among Ottoman women not only because Islamic ethics recommended cleanliness, also because it was only way to get out of the home and socialize. Figure 7.5 (And, 1993: 248) illustrates two women who were going to the bathhouse. This picture is from a catalogue in Der Staats und Universitätsbibliothek, Bremen. The woman dressed in red is the mistress, and the one in blue is the servant. The servant carries a white *yasdık* (cushion) under her arm and a *hamam liğeni* (washbasin) on her head. They have covered the basin with an embroidered cloth, and would have put in it a *hamam gönleği* (bath shirt) which was used to dry the body after the bath, a *makrama* (bath towel), and clean underwear. They have a *kilim* (a type of floor covering) and cushions with them as well. After taking out the items that were in the *hamam liğeni* (washbasin), the mistress would have turned it upside down and used it as a seat during washing. Sometimes women brought food to the bathhouse as well. These descriptions provide evidence that a material culture was established around bath objects during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the following section, I delineate my findings regarding the spread of the possession of bath objects throughout the population and social classes.

7.2.1 Spread of Bath Objects

The bath objects listed in the Bursa probate records were the *nalın* (elevated wooden sandals), *futa* (bath wrapper), *hamam keçesi* (bath felt), *hamam döşemesi* (bath floor covering), *hamam kaliçesi* (bath carpet), *kil kutusu* (a container for clay that was used in washing hair), *hamam rahtı* (a set of textile items used in the bath), *hamam tası* (bath bowl), and *hamam liğeni* (washbasin). I did not include the Chi-square results for the *hamam kaliçesi* and the *hamam rahtı* because their percentages so low that it was not possible to conduct a sound analysis. Although the *ayna* (mirror) is not exactly part of the bath objects category, I included it here because like bath objects, mirrors were consumed primarily by women. Moreover, like bath objects, mirrors were related to women's beauty.

Table 7.3 shows the percentages of people who possessed a bath item in the first and second periods. The chi-square values (Yeats' Correction for continuity values) and significance levels are presented as well. These results indicate that compared to the sixteenth century, there were more people using certain bath objects in the seventeenth century. That is, there was more spread of the possession of such objects throughout the population in the seventeenth century. The possession of the *nalins* (elevated wooden sandals), the *futas* (bath wrappers), the *kil kutusus* (containers for clay that was used in washing hair), the *hamam liğenis* (washbasins), and *aynas* (mirrors) spread throughout Bursian women in the mid-seventeenth century. The servant woman in Figure 7.5 is wearing *nalın* as footwear. In Figure 7.4, the woman in the figure covered her legs with a blue *futa* which had flower design on it.

The spread of objects is an important criterion that indicates consumer culture. However, the spread of consumer goods throughout the population must also be prevalent, meaning that not only the upper but lower strata as well should consume it. I compared the number of people in each social class who possessed a certain item between the two periods. The results of the chi-square comparisons are given in Table 7.4. Possession of the *futa* (bath wrapper) spread throughout the *beledi* class over time. The number of *beledi* women who possessed a *futa* showed statistically significant increase in the mid-seventeenth century compared to the previous period. In the earlier period forty-five percent and in the later period eighty-three percent of *beledi* class women possessed a *futa*. Possession of a *kil kutusu* (clay box) became more widespread among the *askeri* women over the same period (twelve percent in the mid-sixteenth century and forty-three percent in the mid-seventeenth century). Possession of the *hamam liğeni* (washbasin) was spread throughout both of the classes in the second period. These results show that except for the *kil kutusu* (clay box), the possession of these items was democratized among Bursian women. The number of *beledi* women who had a *kil kutusu* (clay box) also increased by the mid-seventeenth century, but the increase was not statistically significant.

7.2.2 Spread of Luxury Bath Objects

I also investigated what were considered as being luxury items among the bath objects. The results showed that there was a spread of luxury and populuxe objects within both classes. The spread of luxury goods within the lower classes indicates

democratization of luxury or populuxe goods in the society. Silver *nalins* (elevated wooden sandals), and *aynas* (mirrors), *futas* (bath wrappers) made of precious fabrics, and *hamam rahtıs* (set of textiles items used in the bath) were luxury items used and displayed in the public baths. There were other textiles such as *makrama* and *boğça* that could also be considered as luxury display items used in the bathhouses. However, these items had other places of usage, and their place of usage was not generally recorded in the probate lists. Therefore, I did not include these textiles in bath objects category.

In the seventeenth century, *askeri* women who had wealth of at least forty-thousand *akçes* owned silver *nalins* (elevated wooden sandals). Among the *beledi* women, Fatıma bint-i Alaaddin, who had two hundred ninety-eight thousand seven hundred *akçes* of wealth, possessed a pair of silver *nalın* (elevated wooden sandal) costing seven hundred and fifty *akçes*. However, when I checked the probate records in detail, I found that Fatıma owned a shop that sold *nalins*. Therefore, despite Fatıma's ownership of a pair of luxury *nalins* were in fact status symbols for *askeri* class women and not democratized as a luxury item throughout the population of Bursian women.

During the mid-sixteenth century, both *askeri* and *beledi* women had *futas* (bath wrappers) made of ordinary cloth. In the next century, *askeri* individuals owned *futas* made of more expensive fabrics such as silk and embroidered fabric. However, the Bursa court registers show that although in earlier years members of the *futa* makers' guild (*futacılar*) determined every detail of *futa* production, such as number of threads, colors, and even the production schedule (Gerber, 1988), at a later period, the members of the same guild complained about other members who

violated the production standards. In short, the production of populuxe versions of *futas* had started to take place.

As for the other luxury items, mainly the *askeri* class women were consuming luxury bath objects. *Askeri* class women who had wealth over twenty-seven thousand *akçes* owned silver mirrors. Others had either very inexpensive mirrors, which might be produced from copper, or none at all. The *hamam rahtı* (set of textile items used in the bath) was a novelty as well as a luxury item. This was a set of bath textiles which was composed of a bath shirt, a head covering, towels, and floor coverings (Kütükoğlu, 1983). Probate records show that its value ranged from one hundred to one thousand *akçes* during the mid-seventeenth century. *Beledi* class women consumed less expensive versions (valued at a maximum of five hundred *akçes*) than *askeri* women.

Some of the bath objects – the *nalın*, *futa*, *ayna*, and *hamam rahtı* - were luxury goods, consumed mainly by *askeri* rather than *beledi* class women. Public bathhouses were places where women could display their status through the bath objects they used. I did not observe proliferation of consumption of luxury bath objects among the *beledi* class for this particular time period. However the *futa* provided evidence of the production of populuxe goods during the seventeenth century in Bursa. The masses who could not afford for the expensive, consumed the less expensive versions (Fairchilds, 1993).

7.2.3 Commercialization of Bathhouse Fashion

The *hamam liğeni* (washbasin), *hamam rahtı* (set of textile items used in the bath) and *hamam kaliçesi* (bath carpet) were the items that were novelties among women in Bursa during the seventeenth century. In the previous century, none of the women in Bursa had any of these items (see Table 7.3). I also considered the *ayna* (mirror) as a novel item because very few Ottoman women had an *ayna* during the mid-sixteenth century. The *hamam keçesi* (bath felt) was popular in the first period but had gone out of fashion by the mid-seventeenth century.

To be able to detect the movement of fashion items among the classes, I conducted chi-square tests to compare the number of *askeri* and *beledi* people who possessed a certain item in the same period (Table 7.5). I did not include results for the *hamam rahtı* (set of textile items used in the bath) and *hamam kaliçesi*, because the number of women who possessed these two items was not enough to conduct the analysis. The findings show that a trickle-across process had taken place in the case of the spread of mirrors and washbasins. The number of women who possessed an *ayna* (mirror) - twenty-nine and twenty for the *askeri* and *beledi* classes respectively – does not show a statistically significant difference between the two groups. Similarly, the *hamam liğeni* (washbasin) does not show a statistically significant difference between the *askeri* and *beledi* groups during the mid-seventeenth century. Therefore, *both items* showed a trickle-across process, in which the movement of fashion items occurred simultaneously in both classes. The spread of fashion items like *hamam liğeni* and *hamam kaliçesi* within both the *askeri* and *beledi* classes show that the character of Ottoman social structure was probably a major factor resulting in this trickle-across process.

7.2.4 Impact of Institutions on Bathhouse Consumption

Bathhouse consumption, as a type of leisure time consumption, was commercialized. I observed four different examples of commercialization, which are delineated in this section. First, in the production of bath objects, especially in the case of the *futa* (bath wrapper), the Ottoman state negotiated with the guilds regarding the production standards of the goods. Second, interregional trade of *futas* (bath wrappers) existed in the Ottoman lands, with enormous types and colors of *futas* (bath wrapper) being available to Ottoman consumers. Third, during this period, the bathhouse business employed early versions of branding and promotion as two types of marketing techniques. Fourth, the bathhouse business was very profitable because of the popularity of leisure consumption in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, the profits from public baths constituted the incomes of many *wakf* institutions which were shaped by the Islamic ethics as the way experienced in the Ottoman context.

In terms of production, it is not easy to determine the innovations for every bath object but the *futa* (bath wrapper) was a textile item and produced in Bursa, and records production standards. During the year 1502, a code on the regulation of guilds and manufacturing standards was issued by the state and sent to the *qadi* (provincial administrator and judge) of Bursa (TSE, 2002). The standard mentions four types of *futas*: *karabuğra*, *karyağdı*, *gülistani*, and *zerduzi futas*. When these four types were inspected, the *muhtesib* (superintendent of police in charge of examining weights, measures, and provisions) found that *futas* were not being produced according to the standards. The number of warp and weft threads had both decreased. People in the bathhouse business were even complaining about short *futas* (bath wrap), which were not long enough length to wrap the body (TSE, 2002).

The guilds declared that the main reason was the high raw material prices, because raw material dealers sold the material to merchants before selling it to the guilds. Thus, as the supply level decreased, guild members had to pay high prices for the thread. They stated that they therefore used a lesser amount of thread in the production of a *futa*. However, another explanation might be the effort to supply lower quality *futas* at lower prices in order to penetrate into the market with cheaper populuxe versions of the *futa*. As mentioned above, the number of people who possessed *futas* increased during the seventeenth century. One of the reasons for this increase might be the production of less expensive versions but another explanation might be the greater variety of *futas* that had become available in the market due to interregional trade.

The seventeenth-century *narh* records contained a variety of *futa* (the *narh* records used a synonym for *futa*, *peştamal*) types and their prices. In the records, there were *futas* designed as: *ibrişim*, *Gazze*, *Selanik*, *Dimyat*, *Haleb*, *Hımıs*, *katmer kenarlı*, *zerzili*, *karalu*, and *karabugra* (Kütükoğlu, 1983). The records show that the *futa* was an important commodity, and originated in many places including Gaza, Aleppo and Thessalonica, with various qualities and colors.

Not only bath objects, but the public bath as a leisure activity was very popular and commercialized during the period of study. For example, during the seventeenth century, the public baths in Istanbul offered *nalins* (elevated wooden sandals) made of wood to their customers. On these *nalins*, poems that included the name of the bathhouse, its location, and its selling points (Koçu, 1967). Two examples of such poems are as follows:

Its service is quick and swift
This Çardaklı bathhouse is clean (Koçu, 1967: 180)

In this bathhouse, there is pleasure and healing
Koğacılar [the name of the bathhouse], its quarter is Vefa (Koçu, 1967:
180)

In order to communicate the features of the bathhouse and establish awareness of it, utilization of poems (that is, use of aesthetics) constituted examples of an early form of branding and promotion.

Postel (in And, 1993), a French traveler, visited Ottoman lands during the sixteenth century and stated that public bathhouses were making high profits because many people attended them frequently. Generally, public bathhouses were established by *wakf* owners in order to provide income for the *wakfs*. *Wakfs* rented out public baths to someone who could operate the bath and in return the rental fees were collected to meet the *wakf*'s expenses (Çiftçi, 2004). Public baths were in fact among the most profitable establishments earning income for *wakfs* to support the charitable endeavors of the latter. This system was governed by orthodox Islamic ethics, which attempted to establish a balance between worldly affinities and reaching the divine. Therefore, at the social level, public baths as sites where leisure was consumed, but the money accumulated was channeled into charity, was considered to be one of the most appropriate types of consumption.

Commercialization of bathhouses as a female leisure time activity occurred very early when compared to western examples that situate commercialization of leisure to the eighteenth century. *Wakf* system, which is identified as an example of public sphere (Eisenstadt and Wittrock, 1998) served Ottoman society with philanthropic actions and supported the market system by establishing market infrastructure (such as *hans*, *caravaserais*, *bazaars*, and *shops*) and consumption (especially bathhouse consumption in this example).

Bath and coffee objects proliferated during the seventeenth century. Expensive versions of bath objects were consumed by the rich but less expensive versions of them became widespread. In public baths women enjoy themselves, interact with each other, and display their status by consuming luxurious and fashionable bath objects such as *futas*. Husbands had to provide enough money for their wives to attend public baths. As Veblen ([1899] 1994) argues, men display their belonging to wealthy class by consuming for their wives. Bathhouse consumption in the Ottoman context demonstrates that not only men of the newly rich communicate their status over their wives' consumption but in general enjoying one's self in bath regardless of class was appropriate in Ottoman society. Thus, in the Ottoman context bathhouse consumption was more democratic than the western examples studies (see Plumb, 1982). Coffeehouse consumption showed a similar pattern in terms of spread throughout the lower echelons. However, coffeehouse consumption unlike bathhouse consumption took reactions from different circles among Ottoman society. The disparity between ethical principles and coffeehouse consumption practices was an indicator of a modernization tendency in the Ottoman context.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This study had two aims: the first one was to investigate if an early modern consumer culture existed in a non-western context, and the second was to explore how a fluid social structure, a particularity of the Ottoman context, shaped the Ottoman consumer culture. My findings showed that there actually existed an Ottoman consumer culture between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. This finding is important because it is contrary to the convergence theory, which is inherent in most studies and argues that today's modern consumer culture had its origins in the early modern west and spread throughout the globe from west (Campbell, 1987; McCracken, 1988; McKendrick et al, 1982; Mukerji, 1983; Porter and Brewer, 1993; Roche, 2000; Schama, 1987). Secondly, my findings indicated that characteristics of Ottoman social structure shaped a different type of consumer culture, where three types of “trickling” processes defined the diffusion of goods and the fashion process, rather than merely the trickling-down process, which had been observed in previous research. Although the relation between social structure and consumer culture has been studied in sociology, anthropology, consumer research,

and marketing fields (Bourdieu, 1989; Douglas and Isherwood, 1996; Holt, 1997; Holt, 1998; Levy, 1978; Simmel [1904] 1957; Veblen [1889] 1904; Weber, 1978), the relation between the consumer culture and the nature of the social structure has never been studied.

8.1 Early Modern Consumer Culture in a non-Western Context

In this study, I explored five indicators of consumer culture which have been identified by historical studies on the origins of consumer culture. I focused on these five indicators for each category of goods that I examined– clothing, home furnishing goods, and coffeehouse and bathhouse consumption.

The first indicator of consumer culture is the spread of consumer goods throughout the population. My findings show that there were more people using certain garments, home furnishing items, coffee utensils, and bath objects during the mid-seventeenth century than the earlier period. The goods that had spread throughout the population were: (1) women's clothing items – headwear and hair accessories (*çenber, arakiye, saçbağı*), underwear (*don* and *gönlek, zıibun*), trousers (*çintıyan, çakşır*), robes (*kaftan, cellayi, entari*), cloaks (*kürdiye, kapama*), and belts (*kuşak*); (2) men's clothing items – underwear (*don* and *gönlek, zıibun, yelek*), trousers (*çintıyan, çakşır*), robes (*sade, dolama*), cloaks (*kürdiye, yapınca, çuka, kapama*), and belts (*kuşak, uçkur*); (3) home furnishing items – mattress (*döşek*), pillow (*yasdık*), floor coverings (*kilim, döşeme*), curtain (*perde*), wrap (*boğça*), towel (*makrama*), and chest (*sandık*); and (4) leisure consumption items - coffee ewers and

coffee cups, elevated wooden sandals (*nalın*), bath wrapper (*futa*), clay box (*kil kutusu*), washbasin (*hamam liğeni*), and mirror (*ayna*).

The spread of consumption is important because it shows that consumption is democratized. Democratization means not only the upper but the lower classes consume as well. To be able to detect proliferation of goods, I determined whether the items were spread throughout the *beledi* (ruled) as well as the *askeri* (ruling) classes. The items that spread throughout the *beledi* class or both were: (1) women's clothing items – headwear and hair accessories (*arakiye*, *saçbağı*), underwear (*don* and *gönlek*, *zıbun*), trousers (*çintıyan*, *çakşır*), robes (*entari*), cloaks (*kürdiye* and *kapama*), and belts (*kuşak*); (2) men's clothing items – underwear (*don* and *gönlek*, *zıbun*), trousers (*çakşır*), robes (*sade*, *dolama*), and belts (*kuşak*, *uçkur*); (3) home furnishing items – pillow (*yasdık*), floor covering (*kilim*, *döşeme*), curtain (*perde*), and towel (*makrama*), and (4) leisure consumption items - coffee ewers and coffee cups, bath wrapper (*futa*) and washbasin (*hamam liğeni*). Moreover, coffeehouse and bath consumption were both very popular and spread throughout the population.

The second indicator of consumer culture is interest in the acquisition of consumer goods. Interest in acquiring goods increased in the second period for: (1) women's clothing items - headwear (*çenber*, *arakiye*), underwear (*don* and *gönlek*, *zıbun*), robe (*kaftan*), outerwear (*kapama*), and belt (*kuşak*); (2) men's clothing items - headwear (*dülbend*, *kavuk*), underwear (*don* and *gönlek*, *zıbun*), pants (*çakşır*), robes (*kaftan*, *sade*, *dolama*), outerwear (*kapama*, *çuka*), and belts (*kuşak* *uçkur*); (3) home furnishing items – bed sheet (*çarşeb*), quilt (*yorgan*), pillow (*yasdık*), floor covering (*kilim*, *keçe*, *döşeme*), curtain (*perde*), wrapper (*boğça*), towel (*makrama*), and chest (*sandık*). The *beledi* class showed interest in the acquisition of the following goods: (1) women's clothing items - headwear (*arakiye*), underwear (*don*

and *gönlek*, *zıbun*), outerwear (*kapama*), and belt (*kuşak*); (2) men's clothing items - headwear (*dülbend*, *kavuk*), underwear (*don* and *gönlek*), pants (*çakşır*), and belts (*kuşak*, *uçkur*); (3) home furnishing items - *yasdık* (pillow), *perde* (curtain), *yorgan* (quilt), *makrama* (towel), *döşeme* (kind of floor covering), and *kilim* (kind of floor covering).

The third indicator of consumer culture is the spread and democratization of luxury and populuxe goods. My findings show that for clothing and bath objects, luxury and populuxe goods spread throughout the population. For each category, I identified what constitutes luxury. For clothing and home furnishing items, extravagant fabrics including gold and silver –threaded or –embroidered fabrics, defined luxury. For bath objects, silver *nalins* (elevated wooden sandals), silver mirrors, and *futas* (bath wrappers) made of luxury fabrics were the luxury items. My findings show that during the period, luxury fabrics such as velvet, satin, and silk brocade (*kemha*) spread to the *beledi* class. Luxurious status goods such as silver *nalins* (elevated wooden sandals) and silver mirrors were not democratized but were spread throughout the lower echelons of the *askeri* class. Furthermore, the spread of populuxe (less expensive versions of luxury) goods was another signal of the emergence of a consumer culture (Fairchilds, 1993). In the seventeenth-century Ottoman context, guilds produced less expensive versions of luxury clothing, and the possessions of inexpensive mirrors also spread throughout the *beledi* class.

The fourth indicator of consumer culture is the commercialization of fashion. My findings demonstrate that there were novel goods and items that went in and out of fashion during the period. Examples of the novel items were: (1) women's clothing – *saçbağı*, (hair accessory), *çintıyan* and *çakşır* (pants), *cellayi* and *entari* (robes), and *kürdiye* (outerwear); (2) men's clothing - *yelek* (short jacket), *çintıyan*

and *çakşır* (pants), and *kürdiye* (outerwear); (3) home furnishing goods – wooden cupboards and changes interior architecture; (4) leisure goods – coffee utensils, *hamam liğeni* (washbasin), *hamam rahtı* (set of textile items used in the bath), and *hamam kaliçesi* (bath carpet). Examples of in and out of fashion goods were: (1) women's clothing – *nezgeb* (a type of headwear) and *derlik* (a type of robe); (2) men's clothing – *şalvar* (a type of pants); (3) home furnishings – *perde* (curtain), *döşeme* (floor covering), *kilim* (floor covering), and *balin* (thick circular cushion); (4) leisure goods – *hamam keçesi* (bath felt).

The fifth indicator of consumer culture is the commercialization of leisure-time activities. Consumption of coffeehouses and public baths and the corresponding material culture provided evidence concerning there was commercialization and spread of leisure time activities. *Wakf* registers (Çiftçi, 2004) and travelers' accounts (e.g. Thevenot, 1978) recorded the popularity of public baths as sites for leisure consumption. The Sultan's decrees (Dağlıoğlu, 1940) and travelers' accounts also noted the spread of coffeehouse consumption throughout the population.

8.2 Modernization Tendencies

The first contribution of this study is that the indicators of consumer culture were present in a non-western early modern context; i.e. Ottoman context in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Moreover, transformation in the ethical and institutional domains show that the Ottoman context experienced modernization tendencies, which impacted the Ottoman consumer culture of the period. The

disparities between ethical principles and actual consumption practices and the negotiations of the state with the guilds were two examples of this transformation. The transformation shows that the traditional order that had governed consumption patterns and production had broken down. This finding is in line with the findings of Ottoman historians, who have defined the period from the late sixteenth century to the eighteenth century as a period of “crisis and change” (Faroghi, 1994; İnalçık, 1973; İnalçık, 1977; Kafadar, 1994). However, Ottoman historians have explored the transformation from the socio-economic perspective, rather than focusing on consumer culture per se. It appears that transformation in the ethical and institutional domains in fact supported the development of a consumer culture.

In certain areas (clothing and coffeehouse consumption), consumers did not obey Islamic ethical principles. In this study, I compared ethical principles regarding clothing with the actual practices of the consumer. Consumption of luxury fabrics such as satin, silk brocade, and velvet were restricted by law to certain groups, and the inhabitants of Bursa obeyed these rules in the mid-sixteenth century. However, in the next century, garments made of these fabrics spread throughout the *beledi* and lower echelons of the *askeri* classes. Similarly, coffeehouse consumption did not conform to orthodox Islamic ethics, because it contradicted to the work ethic and tended to lead individuals to seek pleasure from sinful acts such as gambling and gossiping. Nonetheless, people from various classes consumed the coffeehouse experience.

The transformations in the institutional domain were identified through looking at the negotiations of the guilds with the state. As the standards of production and qualities were defined by codes, guilds were not allowed to produce novelties. However, during the period of study, imitations of imported goods such as

kemha (silk brocade), and the production of populus fabrics like *gülistani kemha* (a type of *kemha*), populus *futas* (bath wrapper) and novelties like the *saray pabucu* (palace shoe) were negotiated between the guilds and the state. Thus, deviation from the traditional norms supported the consumption of these goods and the emergence of a consumer culture.

Moreover, an important indicator of modernization is the dominance of economic discourse over religious discourse. For a century, the Ottoman state alternately banned and permitted the operation of coffeehouses due to concerns about their deviance from Islamic ethics, until the administration realized that the coffee trade provided income to the treasury.

Another finding regarding the institutional domain is that not only modernization tendencies but also the traditional system in the Ottoman context supported the commercialization of leisure consumption, i.e., bath consumption. The *wakf* institution, which had its basis in Islamic ethics (extant in the Ottoman context), created dialectic between worldly affinities and the divine. The buildings housing the public baths were generally built by the *wakfs* and rented out. The income gained from the rent was used for charitable purposes. Thus, a dialectic relation between leisure consumption and the charity mediated by the *wakf* institution existed in the Ottoman consumer culture in this area.

To summarize, I have attempted to contribute to the literature on the history of consumption by demonstrating that during the mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, an early modern consumer culture existed in a non-western context which encompassed both traditional and modern tendencies in terms of the ethical and institutional domains. Unlike many Ottoman historians who studied especially the wealthy Ottoman elite generally during the eighteenth century (Faroghi, 2002;

Orçan, 2004; Quataert ed., 2000), I focused Ottoman urbanite before the eighteenth century, which was identified as the period when consumer culture emerged due to the impact of westernization. Next, my focus was on how the characteristics of Ottoman social structure shaped Ottoman consumer culture.

8.3 The Ottoman Social Structure and Consumer Culture

I found that the fluid Ottoman social structure led to a consumer culture specific to the Ottoman context. This finding contributes to consumption studies by establishing a relation between social structure and consumer culture. The character of social structure has impact on the processes of diffusion of goods and appropriation of different categories within the society.

8.3.1 Three Trickling Processes

My research results concerning the movement of fashion items demonstrated that there were three types of trickling processes present that described the adoption of goods by different social groups. These processes were trickle-down, trickle-up, and trickle-across. The trickle-down process was valid for luxury goods such as *saçbağı* (a hair accessory), and precious fabrics like *şib* or *diba*. The *kuşaks* (belts), *kaftans* (robes), *perdes* (curtains), and *kilims* (floor coverings), on the other hand showed a trickle-up process. However, the most common was the trickle-across process, which occurred in the case of goods such as *çintiyan* (pants), *çakşır* (pants), *entari*

(robe), *kürdiye* (outerwear), *yelek* (sleeveless jacket), *ayna* (mirror), *hamam liğeni* (washbasin), *kahve ibriği* (coffee ewer), *kahve fincanı* (coffee cup), and *hamam döşemesi* (sofa cover).

The existing studies that focus on the relation between social structure and consumption take into account the upward mobility only (Bourdieu, 1989; Levy, 1981; Mukerji, 1983; Simmel, [1904] 1957; Veblen, [1889] 1994). Moreover, the contexts which have been studied have an established and relatively impenetrable dominating class, i.e., an aristocracy and a rival class which showed an upward group mobility, i.e.; the newly richmerchant class. Therefore these studies concentrate on the trickle-down process, in which the lower classes emulate the upper classes.

However, the Ottoman social structure was different. First, the composition of the dominant class was dissimilar. The dominant class was not composed of hereditary nobility. High-level administrators were gathered from the peasantry in Balkans, educated, and hired for positions relative to their level of capability. The social status and lands they possessed could not be passed on to their heirs (Thevenot, 1978; İnalcık, 1997). Therefore, dominant class was penetrable and open to intense and general upward and intergenerational downward mobility. Thus, dominant class was not remote from other classes. Second, migration from rural regions to cities in order to receive an education and find jobs in the government occurred. Third, during the period, the *askeri* class entered into trade. This is a kind of group mobility, which indicates that occupational and status groups were mixed. However, unlike western context, the mobile group was not a lower group that competed with the dominant class but dominant class itself. This fluid social structure had an impact on consumer culture, as manifested in the movement of goods via three different processes: trickle-up, trickle-down, and trickle-across. The

intense mobility among the classes had to blur the class tastes because people carry their tastes and habitus to their new classes. Dominant class was not remote from the lower echelons, thus it was not possible to distinguish a dominant class taste and create a competition with another upwardly mobile group.

In this study, I have modified Simmel's ([1904] 1957) fashion theory and introduced the three trickling processes. Simmel ([1904] 1957) defines the fashion process as the dialectical relation between novelty and imitation (Simmel ([1904] 1957)). For Simmel ([1904] 1957), prestige seeking was the main driving force behind imitation. The lower classes, thus imitated the upper classes by acquiring the novelties possessed by the latter, and the upper classes in turn innovated to differentiate themselves. My findings necessitate a modification of the dialectical explanation of the fashion process, which only takes into consideration the trickle-down effect (Simmel, ([1904] 1957); Veblen ([1899] 1994)). The fluid social structure in the Ottoman context suggests a different fashion process: one based on mimesis, which is a concept not restricted to trickle-down process, and thus, better explains the phenomena in this case. Mimesis requires a subject, an object, and a third party or rival. The subject desires the object possessed by the rival for the purpose of acquiring the "being" s/he lacks and the rival is perceived to possess (Girard, 1987). The trickle-down, trickle-up, and trickle-across processes of fashion are better explained by means of a dialectical relation between novelty and mimesis, rather than by Simmel's ([1904] 1957) dialectical relation between novelty and imitation.

8.3.2 Appropriation of Categories of Goods

The study determined that personal items were possessed to a greater extent than were household items in the Ottoman context. This situation caught the attention of contemporary travelers as well, who mentioned Turks' interest in clothing rather than home furnishings. Douglas Holt (1998) observed a similar finding in his comparison of the French and American consumer cultures. He found that in France, the consumption of art objects distinguishes the upper, high cultural capital class, but in the American context, individuals with high cultural capital do not consume art objects. I believe that the nature of social class explains why certain goods are owned in certain contexts. In the French-American case, the French society historically had an established aristocracy. The members of the French dominant class possess high level of inherited cultural capital which shape their aesthetic taste and distinguish them from the other high cultural capital possessing people. However, American society was more egalitarian and the level of inherited cultural capital accumulated was low. The only distinguishing factor was the cultural capital accumulated by education. Thus, dominant class did not establish a distinguishing aesthetic taste which formed throughout centuries and passed through family upbringing. A similar explanation is valid for the Ottoman case, because during the period in question, there was no any established aristocracy that possessed lands and houses that transferred from one generation to the next. Thus, status was not represented by the house, which symbolizes family lineage; instead, status was represented by personal belongings like clothing. Thus, the character the dominant class has an impact on the appropriation of categories of goods.

8.4 Limitations and Future Research

This study has two limitations. First of all, I did not include the peasantry in the analysis, but rather focused on the social structure and consumption in the urban setting. For a full understanding of the society, the peasantry would have to be included. Secondly, Bursa was a very special context, which provided perhaps unusual opportunities for the development of a consumer culture (see Chapter 3). To be able to obtain a more comprehensive view, additional cities in different regions of the Empire should be studied.

Finally, this study lays the groundwork for some further research. Although this study has demonstrated that a consumer culture developed in the Ottoman context during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, exactly what happened, so that this trend did not continue is a question yet to be studied. Moreover, a detailed micro level analysis might yield new openings for understanding of consumer behavior and character of social structure. For example, the type of mobility (such as generational, individual) present and its influence on individual consumption practices might be studied.

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Figure 5.1 Depiction of Ottoman women's style of dress by the sixteenth-century traveler Solomon Schweigger (Schweigger, 2004).



Figure 5.2 Styles of dress of five women from the Ottoman court (sixteenth century)
(And, 1993)



Figure 5.3 Outwear (*Dolama*) of an Ottoman woman (sixteenth century) (Gürtuna, 1999).



Figure 5.4 Style of dress of a rich Ottoman man (seventeenth century) (And, 2004)



Figure 5.5 Three women with their outerwear and another woman with *saçbağı* (hair accessory) (Gürtuna, 1999).

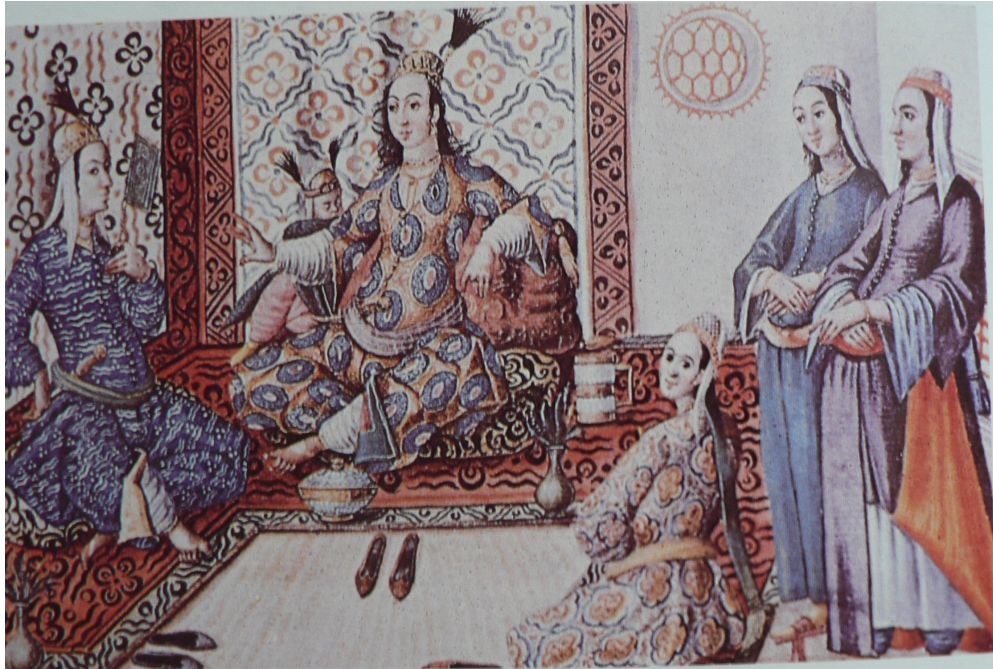


Figure 6.1 A view from Palace (And, 1993)

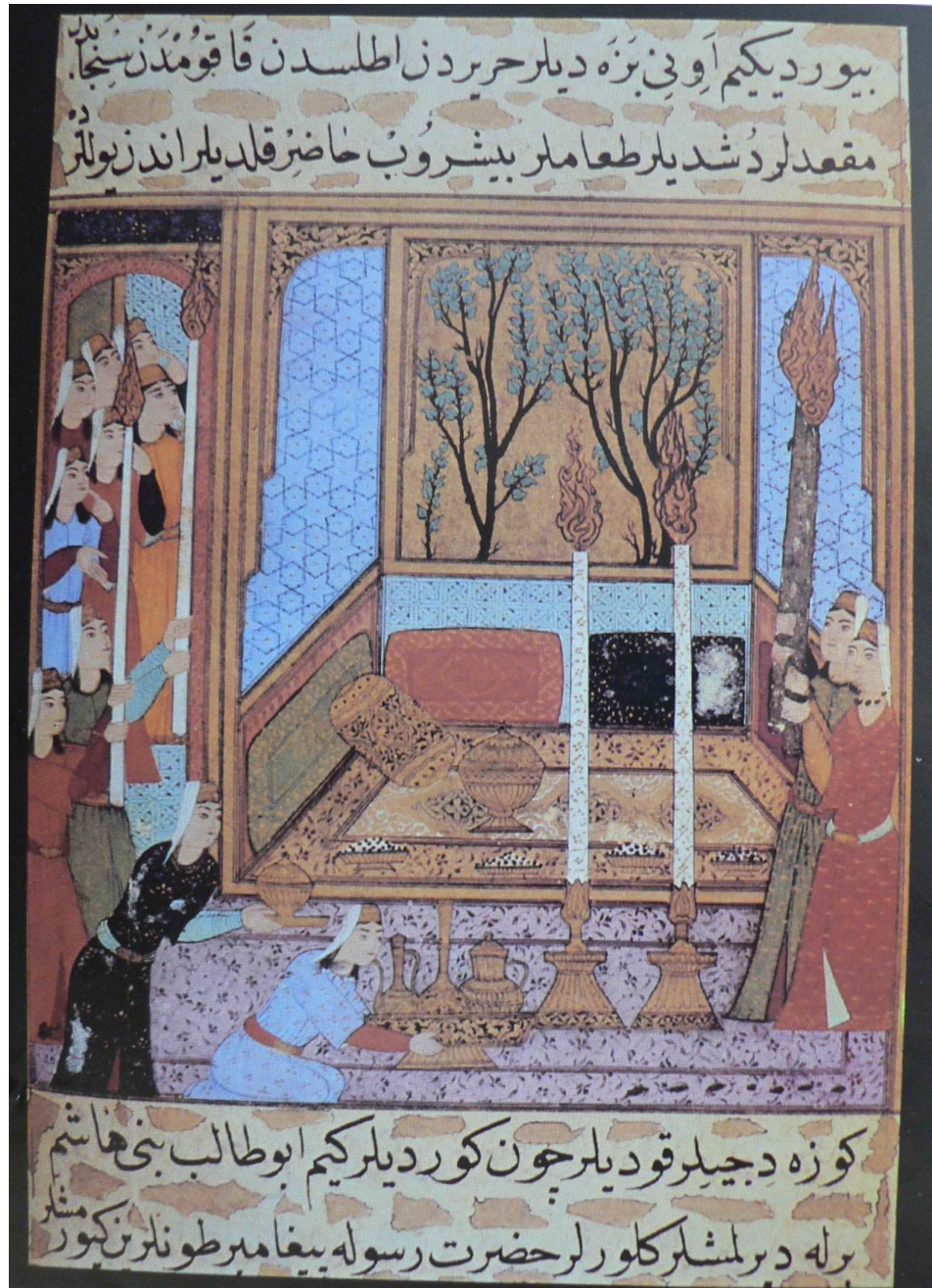


Figure 6.2 A n illustration of a wealthy Ottoman home (Gürtuna, 1999)



Figure 6.3 Wooden Cupboards (Eldem, 1984a)



Figure 7.1 Coffee cup produced in Kütahya (Gregoire, 1989)



Figure 7.2 A late sixteenth century coffee house (And, 2004)



Figure 7.3 A group of women going to a public bath (And, 1993)

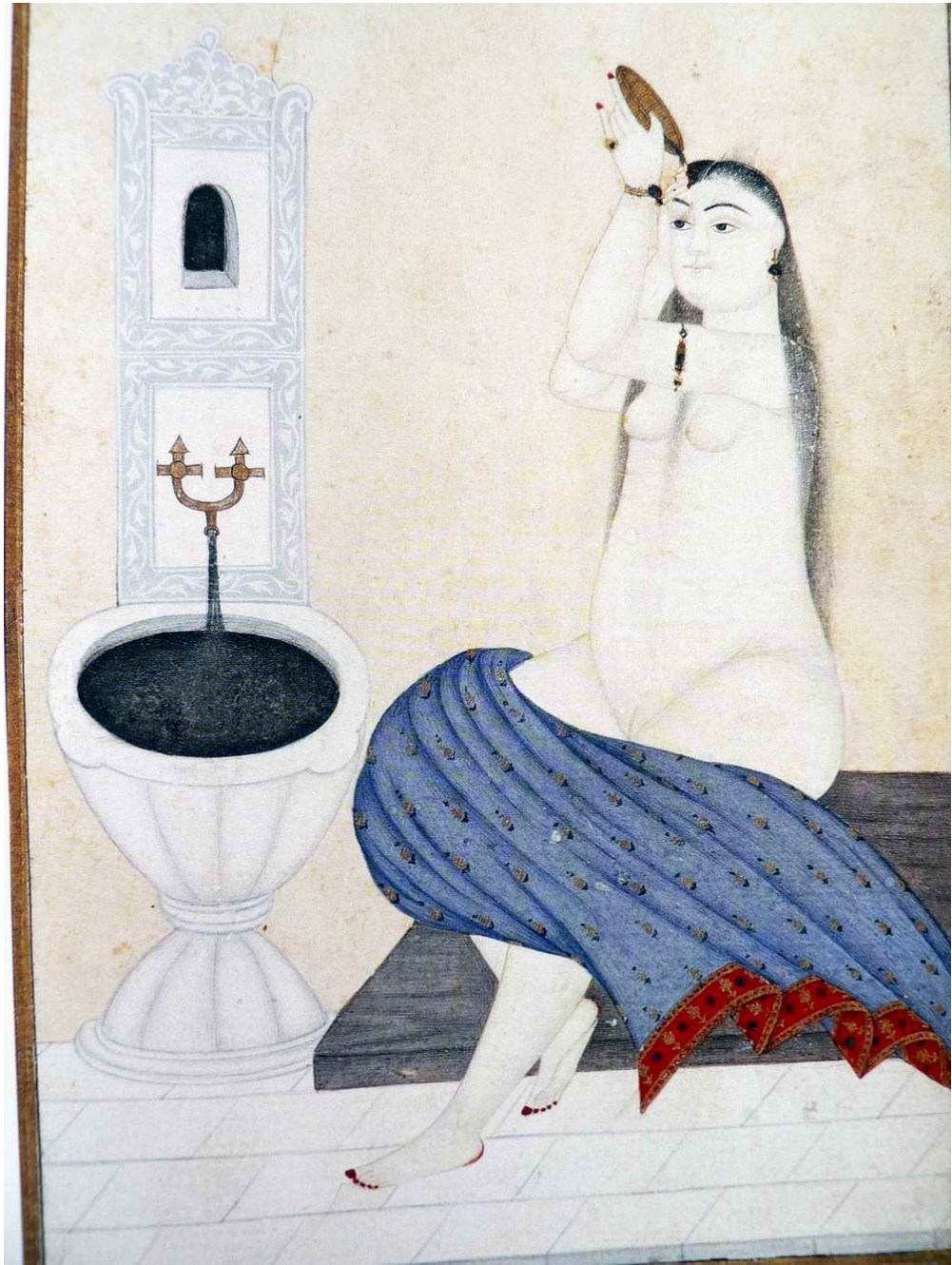


Figure 7.4 A women depicted in the bath (And, 2004)



Figure 7.5 Mistress and servant going to a public bath (And, 1993)

Table 3.1: Summary of Comparative Context

	West			non-West
	England (17th - 18th Cent.)	France (18th Cent.)	The Netherlands (17th Cent.)	The Ottoman Empire (16th - 17th Cent.)
Demographics				
Population	Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase in the 16 th cent. Decrease in the 17 th cent. Urban population increased in the 17 th cent.
Urbanization	Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase
Wealth Distribution	Changed	-	Changed	Constant for Bursa
Economics				
Trade	Dynamic	Dynamic	Dynamic	Dynamic
Instruments of exchange:				
Peddlers	Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase
Markets	Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase
Fairs	Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase
Shops	Increase	Increase	Increase	Lack of research
Marketing Techniques:				
Finance	Credit, commenda, bill of exchange	Credit, commenda, bill of exchange	Credit, commenda, bill of exchange	Commenda Money wakfs provide credit to customers and small businesses
Promotion	Ads, show rooms, prospects	Ads, show rooms, prospects	Ads, prospects	Lack of research. Some hints of promotion and branding.
Political				
Economic Policies	Mercantilism to liberalism	Mercantilism to liberalism	Federalism	Half- mercantilist and half- socialist
Sumptuary Laws	Present Circumvented	Present Circumvented	Present Circumvented	Present Circumvented

Table 3.1 (cont'd)

	West			non-West
	England (17th - 18th Cent.)	France (18th Cent.)	The Netherlands (17th Cent.)	The Ottoman Empire (16th - 17th Cent.)
Cultural	Protestantism, Romanticism Liberalism	Protestantism, Romanticism Liberalism	Humanism Liberalism	Orthodox Islamic (a combination of humanism and protestantism) Heterodox Islamic Pleasure discourse
Social				
Penetration to dominant class	Limited	Impenetrable	Limited	High penetration to and from
Mobility	Newly rich class had group mobility and became rival for the dominant Individual mobility	Newly rich class had group mobility and became rival for the dominant Individual mobility	Newly rich class had group mobility and got power. Individual mobility	Group mobility within dominant class (military started trading) Individual mobility

Table 3.2 The results of ANOVA test of Log (Wealth) Data

	F	Sig.	Eta Squared (effect size)
Gender	52.274	0.000	0.128
Class	0.373	0.542	0.001
Period	5.241	0.023	0.015
Gender*Period	0.220	0.639	0.001
Gender*Class	1.540	0.215	0.004
Gender*Period*Class	0.130	0.719	0.000
Homogeneity of Variances	1.891	1.891	

Table 4.1: The archive numbers of four probate books and the years they were recorded

	Period 1 (mid-16 th century)	Period 2 (mid-17 th century)
Askeri Class	1557-1561 Archive #: A71	1646-1653 Archive #: A77
<i>Beledi</i> Class	1559-1561 Archive #: B72	1650-1655 Archive #: B78

Table 4.2: Number of probate records analyzed in each period, for each class and for each gender

Class	Gender	Period 1 (mid-16 th century)	Period 2 (mid-17 th century)
<i>Askeri</i>	Male	53	52
	Female	42	42
	Total	95	94
<i>Beledi</i>	Male	44	50
	Female	40	41
	Total	84	91

Table 4.3: The years for which the probate data were examined and their relative CPI values

Years included in Period 1	CPI
1557	1.64
1558	1.64
1559	1.64
1560	1.86
1561	1.86
Years included in Period 2	
1646	4.37
1647	4.37
1648	4.37
1649	4.37
1650	4.92
1651	4.92
1652	4.92
1653	4.92
1654	4.92
1655	4.92

Table 4.4: Test of normality assumption for wealth distribution

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov		
	Statistic	df	Sig.
Logwealth	0.031	364	0.200

Table 4.5: Test of homogeneity of variances for wealth distribution

	Levene's Test of equality of error variances		
	Dependent Variable: Logwealth		
F	df1	df2	Sig.
1.891	7	356	0.07ta

Table 4.6: List of words and things

THINGS	WORDS
Coffeehouse	Place of entertainment Literary conversations conducted Customers play chess and backgammon Place for conversation Gathering for pleasure Like heaven Newly emerged Immoral Gossip Place for gambling Wine and opium consumed with coffee Waste of time Place where quarrels occur People who are self-indulgent go there Everybody goes there Young and rude boys frequent them Place of the elite The unfortunate among every social group go there
Coffee	Unlawful Disgusting (not forbidden by God but looked upon with disgust by Muslim teachers) Not unlawful Gives pleasure Drink of a saint (Şeyh Şazeli drinks it) Beneficial to the body Harmful to body Increases the brain's functions Causes sleeplessness Like wine Dry and cold Everybody drinks it Best drink for good people.
Coffee waiter	Beautiful young boy Baby face To prevent lust, waiters serve coffee by bending their knees
Coffee cup	Decoration in coffeehouses

Table 4.6 (cont'd)

Coffeehouse orphan	Sleep in coffeehouses Opium addicts Ignorant Waste their time in sin Gossip Miserable Have nowhere to go No money to arrange meetings No investments
Janissaries	Quarrel Gossip Waste time Spendthrifts
Elite and Dervishes	Have conversations It is not an appropriate behavior It is an appropriate manner Sit in the spacious place of coffeehouse Read poems Do not waste time Act of a saint
People of modest means	Drop by Drink coffee quickly Act of a saint Do not waste time

Table 5.1: Results of Chi-square test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of people who possessed a certain clothing item

POSSESSION	Period 1-Period 2			
	% _{p1}	% _{p2}	χ^2	p
WOMEN'S CLOTHING				
HEADRESSES				
<i>çeşmbend</i>	62.200	57.800	0.171	0.679
<i>çenber</i>	32.900	51.800	5.272	0.022
<i>arakiye</i>	45.100	72.300	11.469	0.001
<i>nezkeb</i>	64.600	10.800	48.614	0.000
HAIR ACCESSORY				
<i>saçbağı</i>	0.000	33.700	30.965	0.000
SHIRTS AND UNDERPANTS				
<i>don</i>	20.700	72.300	42.007	0.000
<i>gömlək</i>	41.500	81.900	26.925	0.000
<i>zıbun</i>	47.600	86.700	27.016	0.000
TROUSERS				
<i>çintıyan</i>	0.000	20.500	16.574	0.000
<i>çakşır</i>	0.000	16.900	13.019	0.000
ROBES				
<i>came</i>	42.700	49.400	0.503	0.487
<i>kaftan</i>	35.400	65.100	13.385	0.000
<i>sade</i>	41.500	28.900	2.325	0.127
<i>cellayi</i>	0.000	9.600	6.348	0.012
<i>entari</i>	0.000	38.600	36.793	0.000
<i>derlik</i>	42.700	0.000	42.447	0.000
robes	85.400	92.800	1.628	0.202
CLOAKS				
<i>ferace</i>	30.500	25.300	0.324	0.569
<i>kapama</i>	29.300	53.000	8.643	0.003
<i>kürdiye</i>	0.000	14.500	10.731	0.001
<i>çuka</i>	9.800	12.000	0.049	0.824
ACCESSORIES				
<i>kuşak</i>	20.700	71.100	40.091	0.000
<i>miyanbend</i>	41.500	0.000	40.849	0.000

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

	% _{p1}	% _{p2}	χ^2	p
MEN'S CLOTHING				
HEADRESSES				
<i>arakiye</i>	19.600	5.900	7.300	0.007
<i>Börg</i>	34.000	5.900	23.229	0.000
<i>kavuk</i>	1.000	51.000	60.953	0.000
<i>dülbend</i>	37.100	60.800	10.219	0.001
<i>destar</i>	57.500	2.000	72.209	0.000
<i>sarık</i>	0.000	30.400	32.647	0.000
<i>çenber</i>	5.200	4.900	0.000	1.000
SHIRTS AND UNDERPANTS				
<i>don</i>	32.000	67.600	23.923	0.000
<i>gönlek</i>	29.900	62.700	20.251	0.000
<i>kamis</i>	13.400	0.000	12.513	0.000
<i>zıbun</i>	38.100	65.700	14.033	0.000
<i>yelek</i>	0.000	21.600	21.380	0.000
TROUSERS				
<i>çakşır</i>	4.100	69.600	88.018	0.000
<i>çintıyan</i>	0.000	14.700	13.390	0.000
<i>şalvar</i>	22.700	1.000	20.830	0.000
ROBES				
<i>came</i>	38.100	48.000	1.601	0.206
<i>kaftan</i>	24.700	28.400	0.183	0.669
<i>Sade</i>	11.300	24.500	4.965	0.026
<i>dolama</i>	12.400	26.500	5.410	0.020
CLOAKS				
<i>aba</i>	24.700	9.800	6.813	0.009
<i>yapınca</i>	0.000	20.600	20.199	0.000
<i>yağmurluk</i>	8.200	2.900	1.761	0.185
<i>çuka</i>	17.500	30.400	3.821	0.051
<i>ferace</i>	71.100	50.000	8.415	0.004
<i>kapama</i>	24.700	44.100	7.407	0.006
<i>kürk</i>	18.600	21.500	0.470	0.493
<i>kürdiye</i>	0.000	52.000	66.065	0.000
ACCESSORIES				
<i>kuşak</i>	20.600	71.600	49.821	0.000
<i>miyanbend</i>	36.100	0.000	42.204	0.000
<i>uçkur</i>	8.200	19.600	4.409	0.036

Table 5.2: Results of Chi-square test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of people who possessed a certain clothing item for the *askeri* and *beledi* classes separately.

POSSESSION	<i>Askeri</i> in P1 - <i>Askeri</i> in P2				<i>Beledi</i> in P1 – <i>Beledi</i> in P2			
	% _{a1}	% _{a2}	χ^2	p	% _{b1}	% _{b2}	χ^2	p
WOMEN'S CLOTHING								
HEADRESSES								
<i>çeşmbend</i>	66.700	54.800	0.799	0.372	57.500	61.000	0.008	0.927
<i>çenber</i>	31.000	59.500	5.815	0.016	35.000	43.900	0.351	0.554
<i>arakiye</i>	50.000	78.600	6.274	0.012	40.000	65.900	4.445	0.035
<i>nezkeb</i>	71.400	7.100	33.740	0.000	57.500	14.600	14.375	0.000
HAIR ACCESSORY								
<i>saçbağı</i>	0.000	47.600	23.691	0.000	0.000	19.500	6.607	0.010
SHIRTS AND UNDERPANTS								
<i>don</i>	28.600	78.600	19.145	0.000	12.500	65.900	21.936	0.000
<i>gömlek</i>	45.200	85.700	13.482	0.000	37.500	78.000	12.054	0.001
<i>zıbun</i>	47.600	88.100	13.973	0.000	47.500	85.400	11.415	0.001
TROUSERS								
<i>çintiyan</i>	0.000	23.800	9.195	0.002	0.000	17.100	5.469	0.019
<i>çakşır</i>	0.000	11.900	3.403	0.065	0.000	22.000	7.781	0.005
ROBES								
<i>came</i>	73.800	47.600	4.991	0.025	10.000	51.200	14.248	0.000
<i>kaftan</i>	4.800	66.700	32.407	0.000	67.500	63.400	0.023	0.878
<i>sade</i>	33.300	26.200	0.228	0.633	50.000	31.700	2.100	0.147
<i>cellayı</i>	0.000	19.000	6.770	0.009	0.000	0.000	-	-
<i>entari</i>	0.000	42.900	20.434	0.000	0.000	34.100	21.934	0.000
<i>derlik</i>	45.200	0.000	22.037	0.000	40.000	0.000	17.991	0.000
robes	85.700	100.00	4.487	0.034	85.000	85.400	0.000	1.000
CLOAKS								
<i>ferace</i>	38.100	23.800	1.393	0.238	22.500	26.800	0.038	0.846
<i>kapama</i>	19.000	40.500	3.645	0.056	40.000	65.900	4.445	0.035
<i>kürdiye</i>	0.000	11.900	3.403	0.065	0.000	17.100	5.469	0.019
<i>çuka</i>	7.100	23.800	3.276	0.070	12.500	0.000	3.517	0.061
ACCESSORIES								
<i>kuşak</i>	11.900	81.000	37.525	0.000	30.000	61.000	6.631	0.010
<i>miyanbend</i>	61.900	0.000	48.124	0.000	20.000	0.000	12.190	0.008

Table 5.2 (cont'd)

POSSESSION	Askeri in P1 - Askeri in P2				Beledi in P1 – Belediye in P2			
	% _{a1}	% _{a2}	χ^2	p	% _{b1}	% _{b2}	χ^2	p
MEN'S CLOTHING								
HEADRESSES								
<i>arakiye</i>	18.900	9.600	1.157	0.282	20.500	2.000	6.556	0.010
<i>börg</i>	39.600	9.600	11.126	0.001	27.300	2.000	10.513	0.001
<i>kavuk</i>	0.000	55.800	38.094	0.000	2.300	46.000	21.293	0.000
<i>dülbend</i>	58.500	90.400	12.358	0.000	11.400	30.000	3.804	0.051
<i>destar</i>	47.200	3.800	23.572	0.000	70.500	0.000	49.422	0.000
<i>sarık</i>	0.000	5.800	1.412	0.235	0.000	56.000	32.467	0.000
<i>çenber</i>	7.500	9.600	0.001	0.976	2.300	0.000	0.004	0.949
SHIRTS AND UNDERPANTS								
<i>don</i>	30.200	67.300	13.030	0.000	34.100	68.000	9.468	0.002
<i>gönlek</i>	35.800	63.500	6.939	0.008	22.700	62.000	13.125	0.000
<i>kamis</i>	17.000	0.000	7.613	0.006	9.100	0.000	2.778	0.096
<i>Zibun</i>	34.000	69.200	11.696	0.001	43.200	62.000	2.616	0.106
<i>Yelek</i>	0.000	19.200	9.144	0.002	0.000	24.000	10.046	0.002
TROUSERS								
<i>Çakşır</i>	5.700	76.900	52.215	0.000	2.300	62.000	34.571	0.000
<i>Çintiyan</i>	0.000	25.000	12.906	0.000	0.000	4.000	0.390	0.532
<i>Şalvar</i>	20.800	0.000	9.944	0.002	25.000	2.000	9.148	0.002
ROBES								
<i>Came</i>	66.000	34.600	9.148	0.002	4.500	62.000	31.437	0.000
<i>Kaftan</i>	9.400	46.200	15.914	0.000	43.200	10.000	11.864	0.001
<i>Sade</i>	9.400	25.000	3.449	0.063	13.600	24.000	1.023	0.312
<i>Dolama</i>	7.500	23.100	3.772	0.052	18.200	30.000	1.187	0.276
CLOAKS								
<i>Aba</i>	30.200	1.900	13.442	0.000	18.200	18.000	0.000	1.000
<i>Yapınca</i>	0.000	15.400	6.776	0.009	0.000	26.000	11.184	0.001
<i>Yağmurluk</i>	13.200	5.800	0.933	0.334	2.300	0.000	0.004	0.949
<i>Çuka</i>	22.600	57.700	12.015	0.001	11.400	2.000	2.046	0.153
<i>Ferace</i>	75.500	59.600	2.333	0.127	65.900	40.000	5.300	0.021
<i>Kapama</i>	20.800	46.200	6.520	0.011	29.500	42.000	1.079	0.299
<i>Kürk</i>	7.500	19.200	2.172	0.141	31.800	28.000	0.032	0.859
<i>Kürdiye</i>	0.000	40.400	24.290	0.000	0.000	64.000	39.891	0.000
ACCESSORIES								
<i>Kuşak</i>	7.500	80.800	54.231	0.000	36.400	62.000	5.170	0.023
<i>Miyanbend</i>	54.700	0.000	36.620	0.000	13.600	0.000	5.180	0.023
<i>Uçkur</i>	7.500	28.800	6.661	0.010	9.100	10.000	0.000	1.000

Table 5.3 Results of the Mann-Whitney U test for Differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of a certain dress item possessed per woman

	Period 1-Period 2			
WOMEN'S CLOTHING				
	Mean Rank (P ₁)	Mean Rank (P ₂)	M-U	p
HEADRESSES				
<i>Çeşmbend</i>	84.480	81.540	3281.500	0.648
<i>Çenber</i>	74.700	91.200	2722.500	0.013
<i>Arakiye</i>	70.020	91.200	2339.000	0.000
<i>Nezkeb</i>	106.020	60.250	1515.000	0.000
HAIR ACCESSORY				
<i>Saçbağı</i>	69.000	96.830	2255.000	0.000
SHIRTS AND UNDERPANTS				
<i>Don</i>	60.300	105.420	1542.000	0.000
<i>Gömlek</i>	62.360	103.390	1710.500	0.000
<i>Zibun</i>	58.800	106.910	1418.500	0.000
TROUSERS				
<i>Çintıyan</i>	74.500	91.400	2706.000	0.000
<i>Çakşır</i>	76.000	89.920	2829.000	0.000
ROBES				
<i>Came</i>	82.280	83.710	3344.000	0.834
<i>Kaftan</i>	65.550	100.230	1972.500	0.000
<i>Sade</i>	87.680	78.380	3019.500	0.133
<i>Cellayi</i>	79.000	86.950	3075.000	0.004
<i>Entari</i>	67.000	98.810	2091.000	0.000
<i>Derlik</i>	100.710	65.500	1950.500	0.000
Robes	68.360	97.460	2202.500	0.000
CLOAKS				
<i>Ferace</i>	84.970	81.050	3241.500	0.500
<i>Kapama</i>	74.840	91.060	2734.000	0.013
<i>Kürdiye</i>	77.000	88.930	2911.000	0.000
<i>Çuka</i>	81.950	84.040	3317.000	0.604
ACCESSORIES				
<i>Kuşak</i>	62.070	103.670	1687.000	0.000
<i>Mıyanbend</i>	100.210	66.000	1992.000	0.000

Table 5.4: Results of the Mann-Whitney U test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of a certain dress item possessed per woman for the *askeri* and *beledi* classes separately.

	Askeri Women (Period 1-Period 2)				Beledi Women (Period 1-Period 2)			
WOMEN'S CLOTHING								
HEADRESSES	M _{a1}	M _{a2}	M-U	p	M _{b1}	M _{b2}	M-U	p
<i>çeşmbend</i>	45.550	39.450	754.000	0.183	39.420	42.540	757.000	0.495
<i>çenber</i>	36.860	48.140	645.000	0.019	38.360	43.570	714.500	0.257
<i>arakiye</i>	35.690	49.310	596.000	0.007	34.750	47.100	570.000	0.009
<i>nezkeb</i>	56.460	28.540	295.500	0.000	50.010	32.210	459.500	0.000
HAIR ACCESSORY								
<i>saçbağı</i>	32.500	52.500	462.000	0.000	37.000	44.900	660.000	0.003
SHIRTS AND UNDERPANTS								
<i>don</i>	31.810	53.190	433.000	0.000	28.950	52.760	338.000	0.000
<i>gömlek</i>	32.000	53.000	441.000	0.000	30.740	51.010	409.500	0.000
<i>zıbun</i>	29.600	55.400	340.000	0.000	29.760	51.960	370.500	0.000
TROUSERS								
<i>çintıyan</i>	37.500	47.500	672.000	0.001	37.500	44.410	680.000	0.007
<i>çakşır</i>	40.000	45.000	777.000	0.022	36.500	45.390	640.000	0.002
ROBES								
<i>came</i>	48.810	36.190	617.000	0.014	32.720	49.070	489.000	0.000
<i>kaftan</i>	28.450	56.550	292.000	0.000	39.200	42.760	748.000	0.479
<i>sade</i>	44.060	40.940	816.500	0.464	44.170	37.900	693.000	0.164
<i>cellayi</i>	38.500	46.500	714.000	0.003	41.000	41.000	820.000	1.000
<i>entari</i>	33.500	51.500	504.000	0.000	34.000	47.830	540.000	0.000
<i>derlik</i>	52.000	33.000	483.000	0.000	49.200	33.000	492.000	0.000
Robes	32.940	52.060	48.050	0.000	35.700	46.170	60.800	0.042
CLOAKS								
<i>ferace</i>	45.380	39.620	761.000	0.180	40.000	41.980	780.000	0.614
<i>kapama</i>	38.600	46.400	718.000	0.067	36.460	45.430	638.500	0.062
<i>kürdiye</i>	40.000	45.000	777.000	0.022	37.500	44.410	680.000	0.007
<i>çuka</i>	38.930	46.070	732.000	0.033	43.560	38.500	717.500	0.020
ACCESSORIES								
<i>kuşak</i>	28.000	57.000	273.000	0.000	34.750	47.100	570.000	0.009
<i>miyanbend</i>	55.500	29.500	336.000	0.000	45.100	37.000	656.000	0.003

Table 5.5 Results of the Mann-Whitney U test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of a certain dress item possessed per man

	Period 1-Period 2			
MEN'S CLOTHING				
	Mean Rank (P ₁)	Mean Rank (P ₂)	M-U	p
HEADRESSES				
<i>Arakiye</i>	106.880	93.460	4280.000	0.004
<i>Börg</i>	115.430	85.320	3450.000	0.000
<i>Kavuk</i>	74.450	124.290	2469.000	0.000
<i>Dülbend</i>	89.370	110.110	3915.000	0.006
<i>Destar</i>	128.470	72.930	2185.000	0.000
<i>Sarık</i>	84.930	114.330	3485.000	0.000
<i>Çenber</i>	100.140	99.860	4933.000	0.927
SHIRTS AND UNDERPANTS				
<i>Don</i>	80.030	119.000	3009.500	0.000
<i>Gönlek</i>	82.410	116.730	3241.000	0.000
<i>Kamis</i>	108.410	92.000	4131.000	0.000
<i>Zıbun</i>	82.590	116.560	3258.000	0.000
<i>Yelek</i>	89.000	110.460	3880.000	0.000
TROUSERS				
<i>Çakşır</i>	65.880	132.450	1637.500	0.000
<i>Çintiyan</i>	92.500	107.130	4219.500	0.000
<i>Şalvar</i>	111.090	89.460	3871.500	0.000
ROBES				
<i>Came</i>	98.820	101.120	4832.500	0.755
<i>Kaftan</i>	98.050	101.860	4748.500	0.000
<i>Sade/Saya</i>	93.320	106.350	4299.000	0.017
<i>Dolama</i>	93.430	106.250	4310.000	0.020
CLOAKS				
<i>Aba</i>	107.140	93.210	4254.500	0.008
<i>Yapınca</i>	89.500	109.990	3928.500	0.000
<i>Yağmurluk</i>	102.710	97.430	4684.500	0.102
<i>Çuka</i>	93.760	105.930	4342.000	0.046
<i>Ferace</i>	114.380	86.330	3552.500	0.000
<i>Kapama</i>	89.570	109.920	3935.500	0.003
<i>Kürk</i>	97.620	102.260	4716.500	0.425
<i>Kürdiye</i>	73.500	125.200	2376.500	0.000
ACCESSORIES				
<i>Kuşak</i>	72.920	125.750	2320.000	0.000
<i>Miyanbend</i>	118.400	82.500	3162.000	0.000
<i>Uçkur</i>	94.080	105.630	4372.500	0.019

Table 5.6: Results of the Mann-Whitney U test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of a certain dress item possessed per man for the *askeri* and *beledi* classes separately.

	<i>Askeri</i> Men (Period 1-Period 2)				<i>Beledi</i> Men (Period 1-Period 2)			
MEN'S CLOTHING								
	M _{a1}	M _{a2}	M-U	p	M _{b1}	M _{b2}	M-U	p
HEADRESSES								
<i>Arakiye</i>	55.430	50.520	1249.000	0.174	52.010	43.530	901.500	0.005
<i>Börg</i>	61.780	44.050	912.500	0.000	53.830	41.930	821.500	0.000
<i>Kavuk</i>	38.500	67.780	609.500	0.000	36.510	57.170	616.500	0.000
<i>Dülbend</i>	46.350	59.780	1025.500	0.021	43.500	51.020	924.000	0.052
<i>Destar</i>	64.270	41.510	780.500	0.000	65.110	32.000	325.000	0.000
<i>Sarık</i>	51.980	54.040	1324.000	0.297	33.500	59.820	484.000	0.000
<i>Çenber</i>	52.510	53.500	1352.000	0.731	48.070	47.000	1075.000	0.286
SHIRTS AND UNDERPANTS								
<i>Don</i>	42.960	63.230	846.000	0.000	37.630	56.190	665.500	0.000
<i>Gönlek</i>	46.080	60.050	1011.500	0.011	36.610	57.080	621.000	0.000
<i>Kamis</i>	57.420	48.500	1144.000	0.002	51.480	44.000	925.000	0.004
<i>Zıbun</i>	41.060	65.170	745.000	0.000	42.600	51.810	884.500	0.079
<i>Yelek</i>	48.000	58.100	1113.000	0.001	41.500	52.780	836.000	0.001
TROUSERS								
<i>Çakşır</i>	34.020	72.350	372.000	0.000	32.350	60.830	433.500	0.000
<i>Çintiyan</i>	46.500	59.630	1033.500	0.000	46.500	48.380	1056.000	0.182
<i>Şalvar</i>	68.400	47.500	1092.000	0.001	53.270	42.420	846.000	0.001
ROBES								
<i>Came</i>	63.140	42.660	840.500	0.000	33.110	60.160	467.000	0.000
<i>Kaftan</i>	43.200	62.990	858.500	0.000	55.910	40.100	730.000	0.000
<i>Sade/Saya</i>	49.030	57.050	1167.500	0.040	44.820	49.860	982.000	0.192
<i>Dolama</i>	49.810	56.250	1209.000	0.066	44.330	50.290	960.500	0.159
CLOAKS								
<i>Aba</i>	59.880	45.990	1013.500	0.000	47.560	47.450	1097.500	0.977
<i>Yapınca</i>	49.000	57.080	1166.000	0.003	41.000	53.220	814.000	0.000
<i>Yağmurluk</i>	54.930	51.030	1275.500	0.196	48.070	47.000	1075.000	0.286
<i>Çuka</i>	44.510	61.650	928.000	0.001	49.800	45.480	999.000	0.071
<i>Ferace</i>	60.130	45.730	1000.000	0.011	54.810	41.070	778.500	0.009
<i>Kapama</i>	45.940	60.190	1004.000	0.004	44.390	50.240	963.000	0.227
<i>Kürk</i>	49.960	56.100	1217.000	0.080	48.610	46.520	1051.000	0.645
<i>Kürdiye</i>	42.500	63.700	821.500	0.000	31.500	61.580	396.000	0.000
ACCESSORIES								
<i>Kuşak</i>	34.050	72.320	373.500	0.000	40.030	54.070	771.500	0.007
<i>Mıyanbend</i>	67.230	38.500	624.000	0.000	50.910	44.500	950.000	0.007
<i>Uçkur</i>	47.570	58.540	1090.000	0.006	47.140	47.800	1084.000	0.812

Table 5.7 Results of Chi-Square Test for Differences between *Askeri* and *Beledi* classes on “the number of women who possessed a certain clothing item” in the first period and second periods separately.

POSSESSION	(Askeri – Belediye) in Period 1				(Askeri – Belediye) in Period 2			
	% _{a1}	% _{b1}	χ^2	p	% _{a2}	% _{b2}	χ^2	p
WOMEN'S CLOTHING								
HEADRESSES								
<i>çeşmbend</i>	66.700	57.500	0.394	0.530	54.800	61.000	0.123	0.726
<i>çenber</i>	31.000	35.000	0.024	0.877	59.500	43.900	1.450	0.228
<i>arakiye</i>	50.000	40.000	0.473	0.492	78.600	65.900	1.100	0.294
<i>nezkeb</i>	71.400	57.500	1.183	0.277	7.100	14.600	0.554	0.457
HAIR ACCESSORY								
<i>saçbağı</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	47.600	19.500	6.128	0.013
SHIRTS AND UNDERPANTS								
<i>don</i>	28.600	12.500	2.316	0.128	78.600	65.900	1.100	0.294
<i>gömlek</i>	45.200	37.500	0.237	0.626	85.700	78.000	0.387	0.534
<i>zibun</i>	47.600	47.500	0.000	1.000	88.100	85.400	0.002	0.966
TROUSERS								
<i>çintıyan</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	23.800	17.100	0.238	0.625
<i>çakşır</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	11.900	22.000	0.863	0.353
ROBES								
<i>came</i>	73.800	10.000	31.540	0.000	47.600	51.200	0.012	0.914
<i>kaftan</i>	4.800	67.500	32.587	0.000	66.700	63.400	0.006	0.936
<i>sade</i>	33.300	50.000	1.708	0.191	26.200	31.700	0.097	0.755
<i>cellayı</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	19.000	0.000	11.733	0.010
<i>entari</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	42.900	34.100	0.348	0.555
<i>derlik</i>	45.200	40.000	0.066	0.798	0.000	0.000	-	-
robes								
CLOAKS								
<i>ferace</i>	38.100	22.500	1.673	0.196	23.800	26.800	0.004	0.949
<i>kapama</i>	19.000	40.000	3.391	0.066	40.500	65.900	4.394	0.036
<i>kürdiye</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	11.900	17.100	0.128	0.721
<i>çuka</i>	7.100	12.500	0.198	0.656	23.800	0.000	8.966	0.003
ACCESSORIES								
<i>kuşak</i>	11.900	30.000	3.055	0.080	81.000	61.000	3.115	0.078
<i>miyanbend</i>	61.900	20.000	13.147	0.000	0.000	0.000	-	-

Table 5.8 Results of Chi-Square Test for Differences between *Askeri* and *Beledi* classes on “the number of men who possessed a certain clothing item” in the first period and second periods separately.

<i>POSSESSION</i>	<i>(Askeri – Belediye)</i> in Period 1				<i>(Askeri – Belediye)</i> in Period 2			
	% _{a1}	% _{b1}	χ^2	p	% _{a2}	% _{b2}	χ^2	p
<i>MEN'S CLOTHING</i>								
<i>HEADRESSES</i>								
<i>arakiye</i>	18.900	20.500	0.000	1.000	9.600	2.000	1.472	0.225
<i>börg</i>	39.600	27.300	1.130	0.288	9.600	2.000	1.472	0.225
<i>kavuk</i>	0.000	2.300	0.009	0.925	55.800	46.000	0.622	0.430
<i>dülbend</i>	58.500	11.400	20.903	0.000	90.400	30.000	36.500	0.000
<i>destar</i>	47.200	70.500	4.430	0.035	3.800	0.000	0.471	0.493
<i>sarık</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	5.800	56.000	20.073	0.000
<i>çenber</i>	7.500	2.300	0.502	0.479	9.600	0.000	3.203	0.073
<i>SHIRTS AND UNDERPANTS</i>								
<i>don</i>	30.200	34.100	0.037	0.848	67.300	68.000	0.000	1.000
<i>gönlek</i>	35.800	22.700	1.399	0.237	63.500	62.000	0.000	1.000
<i>kamis</i>	17.000	9.100	0.699	0.403	0.000	0.000	-	-
<i>zıbun</i>	34.000	43.200	0.519	0.471	69.200	62.000	0.314	0.575
<i>yelek</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	19.200	24.000	0.119	0.730
<i>TROUSERS</i>								
<i>çakşır</i>	5.700	2.300	0.104	0.747	76.900	62.000	2.024	0.155
<i>çintıyan</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	25.000	4.000	7.366	0.007
<i>şalvar</i>	20.800	25.000	0.064	0.800	0.000	2.000	0.000	0.984
<i>ROBES</i>								
<i>came</i>	66.000	4.500	35.967	0.000	34.600	62.000	6.600	0.010
<i>kaftan</i>	9.400	43.200	12.948	0.000	46.200	10.000	14.646	0.000
<i>sade</i>	9.400	13.600	0.108	0.743	25.000	24.000	0.000	1.000
<i>dolama</i>	7.500	18.200	1.623	0.203	23.100	30.000	0.322	0.570
<i>CLOAKS</i>								
<i>Aba</i>	30.200	18.200	1.272	0.259	1.900	18.000	5.743	0.017
<i>Yapınca</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	15.400	26.000	1.168	0.280
<i>Yağmurluk</i>	13.200	2.300	2.491	0.114	5.800	0.000	1.295	0.225
<i>Çuka</i>	22.600	11.400	1.407	0.236	57.700	2.000	34.786	0.000
<i>Ferace</i>	75.500	65.900	0.656	0.418	59.600	40.000	3.178	0.075
<i>Kapama</i>	20.800	29.500	0.581	0.446	46.200	42.000	0.050	0.824
<i>Kürk</i>	7.500	31.800	7.834	0.005	19.200	28.000	0.657	0.418
<i>kürdiye</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	40.400	64.000	4.788	0.029
<i>ACCESSORIES</i>								
<i>Kuşak</i>	7.500	36.400	10.500	0.001	80.800	62.000	3.539	0.060
<i>Mıyanbend</i>	54.700	13.600	15.856	0.000	0.000	0.000	-	-
<i>Uçkur</i>	7.500	9.100	0.000	1.000	28.800	10.000	4.610	0.032

Table 6.1: Results of Chi-square test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of people who possessed a certain home furnishing or home textiles item

POSSESSION	Period 1-Period 2			
	% _{p1}	% _{p2}	χ^2	P
HOMEFURNISHING AND TEXTILES				
Home Textile				
<i>Perde</i>	5.000	39.500	59.841	0.000
<i>Yorgan</i>	57.500	67.600	3.491	0.062
<i>Boğça</i>	41.900	54.600	5.374	0.020
<i>Destmal</i>	9.500	6.500	0.752	0.386
<i>Makrama</i>	45.800	66.500	14.980	0.000
<i>Peşgir</i>	25.700	28.100	0.160	0.689
<i>Çarşeb</i>	43.600	43.800	3.589	0.058
<i>Döşek</i>	36.900	50.300	6.106	0.013
<i>Balin</i>	39.700	1.600	78.961	0.000
<i>Yasdık</i>	21.200	67.000	75.416	0.000
<i>Minder</i>	46.400	48.100	0.052	0.820
Floor Coverings				
<i>Döşeme</i>	1.100	18.400	28.509	0.000
<i>Kaliçe</i>	53.100	44.900	2.135	0.144
<i>Kilim</i>	22.900	60.500	51.354	0.000
<i>Keçe</i>	36.900	26.500	4.072	0.044
<i>Zili</i>	44.700	9.200	56.864	0.000
Floor Coverings category	70.900	80.500	4.057	0.044
Miscellaneous				
<i>Sandık</i>	50.800	63.200	5.221	0.022
<i>Şemdan</i>	28.500	34.100	1.063	0.303
<i>Seccade</i>	20.100	18.400	0.082	0.775

Table 6.2: Results of Chi-square test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of people who possessed a certain certain home furnishing or home textiles item for the *askeri* and *beledi* classes separately.

	Askeri in P1 - Askeri in P2				Beledi in P1 – Belediye in P2			
	% _{a1}	% _{a2}	χ^2	p	% _{b1}	% _{b2}	χ^2	p
HOME FURNISHING AND TEXTILES								
HOME TEXTILES								
<i>Perde</i>	1.100	51.600	59.745	0.000	9.500	27.700	7.858	0.005
<i>Yorgan</i>	61.100	71.000	1.640	0.200	53.600	64.100	1.612	0.204
<i>Boğça</i>	45.300	60.200	3.636	0.057	38.100	48.900	1.672	0.196
<i>Destmal</i>	12.600	12.900	0.000	1.000	6.000	0.000	3.686	0.055
<i>Makrama</i>	55.800	69.900	3.419	0.064	34.500	63.000	13.169	0.000
<i>Peşgir</i>	23.200	35.500	2.880	0.090	28.600	20.700	1.093	0.296
<i>Çarşeb</i>	42.100	58.100	4.171	0.041	45.200	50.000	0.231	0.631
<i>Döşek</i>	26.300	55.900	15.823	0.000	48.800	44.600	0.170	0.680
<i>Balin</i>	53.700	2.200	59.131	0.000	23.800	1.100	19.466	0.000
<i>Yasdık</i>	7.400	75.300	86.812	0.000	36.900	58.700	7.500	0.006
<i>Minder</i>	43.200	50.500	0.753	0.386	50.000	45.700	0.181	0.670
FLOOR COVERINGS								
<i>Döşeme</i>	2.100	15.100	8.525	0.004	0.000	21.700	18.500	0.000
<i>Kaliçe</i>	61.100	52.700	1.021	0.312	44.000	37.000	0.646	0.421
<i>Kilim</i>	11.600	66.700	57.745	0.000	35.700	54.300	5.420	0.020
<i>Keçe</i>	47.400	35.500	2.267	0.132	25.000	17.400	1.107	0.293
<i>Zili</i>	46.300	6.500	36.240	0.000	42.900	12.000	19.871	0.000
Floor coverings category	73.700	86.000	3.703	0.054	67.900	75.000	0.778	0.378
MISCELLANEOUS								
<i>Sandık</i>	56.800	71.000	3.473	0.062	44.000	55.400	1.845	0.174
<i>Şemdan</i>	28.400	39.800	2.220	0.136	28.600	28.300	0.000	1.000
<i>Seccade</i>	26.300	24.700	0.007	0.935	13.100	12.000	0.000	1.000

Table 6.3 Results of the Mann-Whitney U test for Differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of a certain home furnishing or textil item possessed per person

POSSESSION	Period 1-Period 2			
	Mean Rank (P ₁)	Mean Rank (P ₂)	M-U	p
HOMEFURNISHING AND TEXTILES				
<i>Perde</i>	150.190	213.760	10774.500	0.000
<i>Yorgan</i>	167.130	197.380	13805.500	0.004
<i>Boğça</i>	167.500	197.010	13872.500	0.004
<i>Destmal</i>	184.660	180.410	16171.000	0.404
<i>Makrama</i>	153.580	210.480	11381.000	0.000
<i>Peşgir</i>	179.340	185.560	15992.000	0.468
<i>Çarşeb</i>	168.010	196.520	13963.500	0.005
<i>Döşek</i>	175.010	189.740	15217.500	0.139
<i>Balin</i>	218.190	147.960	10168.500	0.000
<i>Yasdık</i>	138.990	224.600	8768.500	0.000
<i>Minder</i>	178.980	185.910	15927.500	0.495
Floor Coverings				
<i>Döşeme</i>	165.500	198.950	13514.500	0.000
<i>Kaliçe</i>	194.090	171.280	14482.500	0.025
<i>Kilim</i>	142.500	221.210	9397.000	0.000
<i>Keçe</i>	173.300	191.400	14911.500	0.020
<i>Zili</i>	216.560	149.540	10460.500	0.000
Floor Coverings category				
Miscellenous				
<i>Sandık</i>	169.790	194.800	14282.500	0.016
<i>Şemdan</i>	177.790	187.050	15715.000	0.302
<i>Seccade</i>	185.280	179.810	16060.000	0.465

Table 6.4: Results of the Mann-Whitney U test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of a certain home furnishing or textiles item possessed per person for the *askeri* and *beledi* classes separately.

POSSESSION	Askeri (Period 1-Period 2)				Beledi (Period 1-Period 2)			
	Mean Rank (P ₁)	Mean Rank (P ₂)	M-U	p	Mean Rank (P ₁)	Mean Rank (P ₂)	M-U	p
HOME FURNISHING AND TEXTILES								
Home Textile								
<i>Perde</i>	70.80	118.63	2173.50	0.00	80.07	96.20	3156.00	0.00
<i>Yorgan</i>	86.77	102.39	3683.50	0.04	80.62	95.70	3020.00	0.04
<i>Boğça</i>	86.00	103.18	3610.00	0.02	81.82	94.60	3303.00	0.07
<i>Destmal</i>	93.72	95.30	4343.00	0.73	91.24	86.00	3634.00	0.02
<i>Makrama</i>	77.89	111.47	2839.50	0.00	74.63	101.16	2699.00	0.00
<i>Peşgir</i>	88.65	100.47	3862.00	0.06	91.39	85.86	3621.00	0.34
<i>Çarşeb</i>	84.78	104.43	3494.00	0.01	83.72	92.86	3462.50	0.20
<i>Döşek</i>	82.90	106.35	3315.50	0.00	93.61	83.83	3434.50	0.17
<i>Balın</i>	118.89	69.58	2100.00	0.00	99.07	78.85	2976.50	0.00
<i>Yasdık</i>	61.91	127.80	1321.00	0.00	78.47	97.66	3021.50	0.01
<i>Minder</i>	91.89	97.16	4170.00	0.47	87.47	89.44	3777.50	0.78
Floor Coverings								
<i>Döşeme</i>	87.50	101.65	3750.50	0.00	78.50	97.63	3024.00	0.00
<i>Kaliçe</i>	100.96	87.90	3803.50	0.08	93.28	84.14	3462.50	0.18
<i>Kilim</i>	67.90	121.67	1890.50	0.00	76.33	99.61	2842.00	0.00
<i>Keçe</i>	87.36	101.80	3739.00	0.02	86.40	90.41	3688.00	0.41
<i>Zili</i>	113.32	75.28	2630.00	0.00	103.50	74.80	3604.00	0.00
Miscellaneous								
<i>Sandık</i>	86.30	102.88	3638.50	0.03	83.55	93.02	3448.00	0.18
<i>Şemdan</i>	88.55	100.58	3852.50	0.07	89.73	87.38	3761.00	0.70
<i>Seccade</i>	96.79	92.16	4200.00	0.44	88.86	88.17	3834.00	0.88

Table 6.5: Results of Chi-Square test for differences between the *askeri* and *beledi* classes in the number of people who possessed a certain home furnishing or textiles in the first period and second periods separately.

	(Askeri – Beledi) in Period 1				(Askeri – Beledi) in Period 2			
	% _{a1}	% _{b1}	χ^2	p	% _{a1}	% _{b1}	χ^2	p
HOME FURNISHING AND TEXTILES								
Home Textile								
<i>Perde</i>	1.100	9.500	5.043	0.025	51.600	27.200	10.563	0.001
<i>Yorgan</i>	61.100	53.600	0.738	0.390	71.000	64.100	0.699	0.403
<i>Boğça</i>	45.300	38.100	0.669	0.413	60.200	48.900	1.949	0.163
<i>Destmal</i>	12.600	6.000	1.602	0.206	12.900	0.000	10.656	0.001
<i>Makrama</i>	55.800	34.500	7.287	0.007	69.900	63.000	0.691	0.406
<i>Peşgir</i>	23.200	28.600	0.430	0.512	35.500	20.700	4.327	0.038
<i>Çarşeb</i>	42.100	45.200	0.073	0.787	58.100	50.000	0.908	0.341
<i>Döşek</i>	26.300	48.800	8.748	0.003	55.900	44.600	1.950	0.163
<i>Balin</i>	53.700	23.800	15.401	0.000	2.200	1.100	0.000	1.000
<i>Yasdık</i>	7.400	36.900	21.525	0.000	75.300	58.700	5.022	0.025
<i>Minder</i>	43.200	50.000	0.587	0.444	50.500	45.700	0.368	0.605
Floor Coverings				-				
<i>Döşeme</i>	2.100	0.000	0.390	0.532	15.100	21.700	0.968	0.325
<i>Kaliçe</i>	61.100	44.000	4.516	0.034	52.700	37.000	4.013	0.045
<i>Kilim</i>	11.600	35.700	13.371	0.000	66.700	54.300	2.445	0.118
<i>Keçe</i>	47.400	25.000	8.646	0.003	35.500	17.400	6.874	0.009
<i>Zili</i>	46.300	37.500	0.099	0.754	6.500	12.000	1.085	0.298
Floor cov. category	73.700	67.900	0.479	0.489	86.000	75.000	2.916	0.088
Miscellaneous								
<i>Sandık</i>	56.800	44.000	2.430	0.119	71.000	55.400	4.155	0.042
<i>Şemdan</i>	28.400	28.600	0.000	1.000	39.800	28.300	1.246	0.134
<i>Seccade</i>	26.300	13.100	4.062	0.044	24.700	12.000	4.216	0.040

Table 7.1: Results of Chi-square test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of men who possessed a certain coffee utensil

POSSESSION	Period 1-Period 2			
	% _{p1}	% _{p2}	χ^2	p
COFFEE UTENSILS				
<i>Kahve İbriği</i>	0.000	38.200	43.734	0.000
<i>Fincan</i>	0.000	27.500	28.759	0.000

Table 7.2: Results of Chi-square test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of men who possessed a coffee utensil” separately for *askeri* and *beledi* classes.

POSSESSION	Askeri in P1 - Askeri in P2				Beledi in P1 – Belediye in P2			
	% _{a1}	% _{a2}	χ^2	p	% _{b1}	% _{b2}	χ^2	p
COFFEE UTENSILS								
<i>Kahve İbriği</i>	0.000	48.100	30.846	0.000	0.000	28.000	12.351	0.000
<i>Fincan</i>	0.000	36.500	21.243	0.000	0.000	18.000	6.803	0.009

Table 7.3 Results of Chi-square test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of women who possessed a certain bath objects

POSSESSION	Period 1-Period 2			
	% _{p1}	% _{p2}	χ^2	p
BATH OBJECTS				
<i>Nalin</i>	3.700	15.700	5.486	0.019
<i>Futa</i>	47.600	77.100	14.119	0.000
<i>Hamam Keçesi</i>	53.700	1.200	54.604	0.000
<i>Hamam Döşemesi</i>	6.100	7.200	0.000	1.000
<i>Hamam Kalıçesi*</i>	0.000	7.200	4.261	0.039
<i>Kil Kutusu</i>	12.200	31.300	7.764	0.005
<i>Hamam Rahtı*</i>	0.000	9.600	6.348	0.012
<i>Hamam Tası</i>	18.300	7.200	3.604	0.058
<i>Hamam Liğeni</i>	0.000	24.100	20.279	0.000
<i>Ayna</i>	3.700	24.100	12.709	0.000

* The number of data per cell is low to conduct statistical analysis.

Table 7.4: Results of Chi-square test for differences between Period 1 and Period 2 in the number of women who possessed a certain a bath object for the *askeri* and *beledi* classes separately.

POSSESSION	Askeri in P1 - Askeri in P2				Beledi in P1 – Belediye in P2			
	% _{a1}	% _{b1}	χ^2	p	% _{a2}	% _{b2}	χ^2	p
BATH OBJECTS								
<i>Nalin</i>	7.100	0.000	1.285	0.257	23.800	7.300	3.115	0.078
<i>Futa</i>	50.000	45.000	0.054	0.817	71.400	82.900	0.971	0.324
<i>Hamam Keçesi</i>	76.200	30.000	17.579	0.000	2.400	0.000	0.000	1.000
<i>Hamam Döşemesi</i>	9.500	2.500	0.752	0.386	14.300	0.000	4.363	0.037
<i>Hamam Kalıçesi*</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	14.300	0.000	4.363	0.037
<i>Kil Kutusu</i>	11.900	12.500	0.000	1.000	42.900	19.500	4.227	0.040
<i>Hamam Rahtı*</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	11.900	7.300	0.113	0.737
<i>Hamam Tası</i>	16.700	20.000	0.011	0.917	14.300	0.000	4.363	0.037
<i>Hamam Liğeni</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	33.300	14.600	3.010	0.083
<i>Ayna</i>	2.4	28.6	9.101	0.0030	5	19.5	2.713	0.001

Table 7.5 Results of Chi-Square test for differences between the *askeri* and *beledi* classes in the number of women who possessed a certain bath object in the first period and second periods separately.

POSSESSION	(Askeri – Beledi) in Period 1				(Askeri – Beledi) in Period 2			
	% _{a1}	% _{b1}	χ^2	p	% _{a2}	% _{b2}	χ^2	p
BATH OBJECTS								
<i>Nalin</i>	7.100	0.000	1.285	0.257	23.800	7.300	3.115	0.078
<i>Futa</i>	50.000	45.000	0.054	0.817	71.400	82.900	0.971	0.324
<i>Hamam Keçesi</i>	76.200	30.000	17.579	0.000	2.400	0.000	0.000	1.000
<i>Hamam Döşemesi</i>	9.500	2.500	0.752	0.386	14.300	0.000	4.363	0.037
<i>Hamam Kaliçesi*</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	14.300	0.000	4.363	0.037
<i>Kil Kutusu</i>	11.900	12.500	0.000	1.000	42.900	19.500	4.227	0.040
<i>Hamam Rahtı*</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	11.900	7.300	0.113	0.737
<i>Hamam Taşı</i>	16.700	20.000	0.011	0.917	14.300	0.000	4.363	0.037
<i>Hamam Liğeni</i>	0.000	0.000	-	-	33.300	14.600	3.010	0.083
<i>Ayna</i>	7.100	0.000	1.285	0.257	23.800	7.300	3.115	0.078